The ALABAMA REVIEW

A Quarterly Journal of Alabama History

VOLUME II 1949

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University of Alabama

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Social Conditions In Alabama As Seen By Travelers, 1840-1850

PART I

BY GORDON BAYLOR CLEVELAND

BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR and especially during the 1840-1850 decade Alabama was visited by countless travelers from various regions of the United States, from several foreign countries and from many walks of life. Among them were scientists, churchmen, journalists, salesmen, actors, novelists, noblewomen, laborer-mechanics and others, rich and poor, educated and merely experienced, reliable and otherwise. And to judge from the welter of extant accounts precious few of these "observers" declined the opportunity to push their "findings" through to print. Apparently, the returning traveler had an eager audience—a fact which should not be forgotten, for upon his adroitness as a story-teller or his wit as a yarn-spinner largely rested his ability to retain his "public."

It is doubtless true that "our knowledge of the inner life of the past is based to a considerable extent on the accounts of travelers."[1] And it is reasonable to assume that travel books "have been one of the most entertaining and suggestive sources on the social and intellectual phenomena of history."[2] One also grants that "thoroughly to understand a land or a

1 Edward Channing, Albert B. Hart, and Frederick J. Turner, *Guide to Study of American History* (Boston, 1912), p. 89.

2 Andrew C. McLaughlin (Chairman, The Committee of Seven), *The Study of History in Schools* (New York, 1909), pp. 105-106.

place you must see it with your own eyes."[3] But it smacks of illogicality to suppose that, since a historian must be a traveler, all travelers would therefore be historians. Evaluation of travelers' materials has indicated that history could not be written from their accounts alone, without the support of documentary evidence and statistical analysis.[4] Certainly, one should like, first, to ask why the individual traveler left the comforts of his fireside and ventured into the wilderness; what were his circumstances at home and what was his habitat; why did he return; to whom was he relating his story; and what was the nature of his axe, if he had one.

The following account of social conditions in Alabama as seen through the eyes of a dozen or more travelers would therefore perhaps be better regarded "not so much as descriptions of what actually passed before the tourists' eyes, as descriptions of what the narrator thought he saw," for, even though indispensable and delightful, "travel books must be used with the greatest caution."[5] As young DuBois, of Catskill, New York, wrote when he sailed in 1840 for Alabama: "High frought with expectation of pleasure I . . . bid adieu to the native place of my youthful career, leaving many anxious hopes and cares behind. . ."[6]

Ante-bellum settlers of Alabama came from practically every category of society. In the rural sections through which men

[3] Edward A. Freeman, *The Methods of Historical Study* (London, 1886), pp. 312-313.

[4] The American Historical Association cites Professor Rayne W. Kelsey on the value of description and travel as source material, pointing out the manner in which the material may be used "in connection with other materials" (*Annual Reports of the American Historical Association*, Washington, 1922, I, 46).

[5] Channing, Hart, and Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[6] (?) Dubois, "Diary of a Journey from New York to Mobile, Alabama, 1840-1843," October 6, 1840 (unpublished manuscript in possession of the New York Public Library). Hereinafter cited as Dubois Diary. In his notes, in which he skips periods of as much as a year, he describes visits to Montgomery, Wetumpka and Tallapoosa Falls.

like Sir Charles Lyell went seeking relics, rock strata and remains, the settlers ranged from the humblest "cracker" and low illiterate German or Irish immigrant—"the wife sitting with a pipe in her mouth, doing no work and reading no books"—to the gentleman with a library well-stocked with the latest and best European volumes.[7] There were the working settlers who wore "coats and trousers" made of "a kind of grey, or blue-and-white cotton cloth, of domestic manufacture,"[8] and the slaves, who, except when they were dressed for market, wore rags that presumedly were once white.[9] In the cities were the merchants, professional men, importers, brokers, gamblers and slave dealers. Rich and poor, northern business men, middle-state planters, and immigrants alike settled in Alabama in the hope of making a new or recovering

[7] Sir Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America* (London, 1849), II, 73. "Lyell, the famous geologist, visited the United States in 1841 and again in 1845-46, when he was already known as the author of 'Principles of Geology. . .' He was a man of great freshness of mind and intellectual curiosity, matured by an unusual education, for he had graduated from Oxford, been trained for the bar in London, and travelled very extensively in Europe. He was hence a keen observer of social and political life in the United States" (Allan Nevins, *American Social History, as Recorded by British Travellers,* New York, 1923, p. 308). The absence of any special alien laws in Alabama rendered the state attractive to forign immigrants, thought Francis Wyse (*America, Its Realities and Resources,* London, 1846, I, iii-iv, 265). Wyse, an Englishman, did not believe other travel accounts were adequate jobs "beyond the mere detail of the varied incidents in which their respective authors may have themselves engaged." His own "considerable sojourn in the country," however, enabled him to cast "additional light upon these matters."

[8] James S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America* (London, 1842), I, 234. Buckingham, seafaring son of a retired British merchant, was a well-known journalist, lecturer and member of Parliament. He strongly advocated social reforms, including temperance, and was warmly received in America by religious bodies and temperance societies (Nevins, *op. cit.,* p. 308).

[9] *Impressions of America and the American Churches: from Journal of the Reverend G. Lewis* (Edinburgh, 1845), p. 159. Lewis was apparently a Scotch Presbyterian minister. As the full title of his work indicates, he was *one of the Deputation of the Free Church of Scotland to the United States.* He was definitely opposed to slavery, the use of tobacco and whiskey, and gambling, and found it difficult to associate with many of his fellow travelers and many of the natives.

an old fortune. There were, of course, frequent references to that group known as the poor whites, to the "clay eaters" and to those whose wordly possessions consisted of a wife, a dog and a gun. The average traveler, however, might well have heard more concerning this group than he actually saw.

As a rule the planter lived in the "dogtrot" or two-sided house with an open passage through the center.

> Here [in this passage] the southern planter loves to sit, or to lie stretched at full length; and here, particularly at the approach of evening, when the sunbeams twinkle obliquely through the transparent foliage, and the cool breeze comes loaded with the fragrance of a thousand flowers, the family may usually be seen, each (ladies as well as gentlemen) in that very elegant position in which an American delights to sit, the chair poised upon the two hind feet, or leaning back against the wall, at an angle of 45°, the feet upon the highest bar, the knees near the chin, the head pressing against the wall, so as now and then to push the chair a few inches from it, the hands (but not of the ladies) engaged in fashioning with a pocket-knife a piece of pine-wood, into some uncouth and fantastic form; the tongue discussing the probability of a war with the "British," and indulging a little national egotism, in anticipating the consequences to follow thereupon, "whipping the British" being, *of course,* assumed.[10]

Then there were settlers who were not average, such as the cosmopolite Madame Octavia le Vert, the outstanding hostess of Mobile.[11] To her guests she introduced the Mobile grandees—

[10] Philip H. Gosse, *Letters from Alabama* (London, 1859), p. 152. Gosse was born in England in 1810. Though interested at an early age in natural history, he became a merchant in Newfoundland. In 1839 or 1840 he traveled through the United States. His book was written as a result of "a residence of seven or eight months in the hilly region of the State of Alabama." Here he taught in a rural, one-room school, and studied the natural history of the region. In 1856 he was made a fellow of the Royal Society in recognition of his work as a naturalist (*International Cyclopaedia,* New York, 1898, VI, 826).

[11] Madame le Vert was one of the more cultured and most traveled of Mobile ladies. She was an honored guest in England during the 1840's having been presented at court, and an intimate friend of Lady Emmeline Wortley, and of Henry Clay. Francis Pulszky said that Madame le Vert was "no blue stocking," in spite of all her activities (Francis and Theresa Pulszky, *White, Red, Black: Sketches of*

lovelier ones they had never met—and the elderly politicians whom Frederika Bremer thought "wise and clear on all questions with the exception of slavery."[12] Miss Bremer was not, however, entirely blind to the existence of another side, for she wrote that "the fascinating ladies of Mavilla [Mobile] must bear the same relation to the snuff-taking ones that the magnolia flower does to the flower of the henbane."[13]

This was not a period of predominance, however, of the permanent settler. It was, rather, one of shuffling and indecision. The state was overrun with speculators of all types, with hesitant sojourners and undecided transients, a land from which one race of darker color was being driven and another was being brought in. It was a period of great migrations, not those merely passing through, but those coming in to settle and those leaving for greener pastures. Alabama, as all of America, was a land of hope for many European immigrants. The Deep South was also the haven of some of the Virginia and Carolina planters when their farms there had become exhausted; and in turn Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas and other parts of the west became a haven for some Alabamians.[14] Another type was the migrant who stopped for a time and then betook himself to his "waggon, possessed by that wandering spirit, which once indulged . . ., though the most difficult of

American Society in the United States, New York, 1853, II, III). Pulszky, a Magyar nobleman was born in Hungary in 1814. A criminal lawyer by profession, he was Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Vienna and at one time Austrian Minister of Commerce in London (See S. Augustus Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors,* Philadelphia, 1882, II, 1704-1705).

12 *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America (1849-1851),* (New York, 1853), II, 219-220. Miss Bremer was born in Finland but lived in Sweden after the age of three. She is classified as "a Swedish novelist." Many of her books were translated into almost all the languages of Europe and became very popular. Upon her return from her travels in the United States (which lasted two years) and a sojourn in England, she engaged in philanthropic work (*International Cyclopaedia,* II, 30).

13 Bremer, *op. cit.,* II, 222.

14 Lyell, *op. cit.,* II, 62-63.

all men to uproot from his native soil, makes him roll on in search of adventures, and of a happiness which, like the horizon, flies from him as he approaches."[15] Some were calculating speculators who bought up the land lottery tickets of those who knew no better, or those who could not secure the wherewithal to operate a farm. Still another was the amateur who worked his farm "from year to year racking it out, and making it yield as much cotton or corn as he can each year, without considering the future, holding himself ready to sell at a day's notice to any one who will give him what he considers to be the increased value of the estate," and in the event of a sale moved west to repeat the process.[16]

Thousands of persons, with all their property, including slaves if they had any, were moving westward. The travelers felt that in a locality of such instability, a land in which the county seats, and even the capital, were moved about at will, a "feeling of nationality, or State pride, cannot easily be fostered. Nevertheless, the resources, both mineral and agricultural of so vast a territory as Alabama, a fifth larger in area than the whole of England proper, may enable them with moderate economy to overcome all their difficulties."[17] Other speculators were the slave traders, who "bought up the surplus stock found in the hands of the slave-breeders [in the middle states], and brought them to the South, for a profitable market," there being a great demand for slaves "to clear the new lands of Texas," "to cultivate cotton in Alabama," "to work on the many new railroads," and to raise "sugar in Louisiana." Many slaves were not sold outright by the speculators,

[15] Lewis, *op. cit.*, 178-179.

[16] Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 258; see also Gosse, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157.

[17] Lyell, *op. cit.*, II, 61-63. This author related that in nine months prior to January 29, 1846, 1,300 whites and twice as many slaves had quitted Alabama for Texas and Arkansas. Monroe County alone lost 1,500 of its citizens. It was said that few of the white settlers resided longer than three years in one place.

for they could be "hired out" at such a rate as to make "an interest on their investment, from thirty to fifty per cent." Since "capital invested in planting did not yield more than twenty per cent on the average," the temptation for some was great.[18] Slave dealers, however, were not held in much esteem by anyone. The visitors appeared to expect them to be devils in disguise. The Reverend G. Lewis, after conversing with one in a coach, expressed surprise at his background, and the apparent fact that he had a heart and even spoke affectionately of his family.[19]

The slaves themselves could not be overlooked by the travelers. As late as 1844 slaves for sale were placed on display in front of the "Town-house" in Montgomery. Here there "was seated," on one occasion,

> a band of young negroes and negresses, all under twenty years of age. There were not fewer than fifty, the one half females, sitting on one side, and the young men on the other. They looked so neat and clean, and their clothes so new and shining, that my first thought was that they were charity children dressed for some holiday scene. . . . Their present dress is only for days of sale, and had been worn by many hundreds of young men and women in succession, who have gone through the same exhibition, like any other live stock tricked out for market. As soon as sold, they are stripped of their ornaments, and reduced to their every day rags.[20]

Such exhibitions as this were no longer allowed in the Carolinas and at this time many people in Montgomery were known to advocate private sales rooms.[21] At one place a person might attend at once "a sale of land and negroes" and the

18 Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 235. Wyse, *op. cit.*, II, 7-10, 76, 80, endeavors to prove that there was slave breeding in Virginia for the purpose of selling at high prices to the Deep South.

19 *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

21 Lyell, *op. cit.*, I, 42-43, 66-67.

next day, a sale of horses.[22] Montgomery was not alone with its market of bondage; "even" Mobile had a slave market.[23]

It appeared that Negro slaves had a certain amount of pride in their value, and probably in their owners. A "griff," whom Lyell mentioned as bringing $675, was told jokingly by a white man that his purchaser had paid much more than he would have given for him. The Negro replied with good humor, "My master, who has had the hire of me for three years, knew better than to let anyone out bid him." Lyell "discovered, in short, that he [the slave] had gone to the sale with a full conviction that the person whom he had been serving was determined to buy him in, so that his mind was quite at ease, and the price offered for him had made him feel well satisfied with himself."[24] Another Negro, spoken of by Lewis, had just made his master $250 profit, and when asked how he liked going south, replied, "I calculate to do well wherever I go."[25]

There were within the state over 2,000 free persons of color. These did not, however, come under the classification of freed slaves. Many of these lived in North Alabama, above Tuscaloosa, where the Negroes, in general, were considered more intelligent. Most of them were artisans; some were merchants. They were not required to contribute to the maintenance of the schools as they were not permitted (by law) to read or write.[26] A Negro merchant was said to have stood security for a white man and thereby to have lost $17,000, yet he was able to retain a store and continue to prosper. He would have sent his son to the University at Tuscaloosa but for the opposition

[22] *Ibid.*, II, 66.

[23] Bremer, *op. cit.*, II, 219.

[24] *Op. cit.*, II, 67; Bremer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 219.

[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

[26] S. Augustus Mitchell, *A General View of the United States . . . at Different Periods, as Well as in the Year 1840* (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 64; Lyell, *op. cit.*, II, 82-83.

of the white "aristocracy." At least two Negroes with Indian blood, in Tuscaloosa, themselves owned slaves.[27] But hope for the free Negroes did not appear close at hand; as long as they were colored it was not possible for them to rise, and so the mulatto often sought to marry a lighter man or woman.[28]

Probably the most significant factor of the condition of the Negro slave in Alabama lay in this statement: "Manumitted slaves cannot remain after manumission."[29] If one was caught in the State he was to be sold for the *"benefit of the State."* Therefore, "in Alabama, to escape exile, the manumitted slaves do not seek a deed of manumission from the State, as they would then be compelled to leave, but choose what is called a guardian, with whom they make an arrangement, in order, if possible, to enjoy both freedom and home." In Mobile a slave could hire himself out at $15 a month, a sum upon which he could support himself and save a little money besides. One Negro was reported to have saved $1000 in this manner only to lose it "by the failure of the parties to whom he entrusted it."[30] Local opinion, in general, on the question of slavery was such that "the man, who . . . ventures to raise his voice in any mixed society or assemblage of his fellow citizens, in decrying this staple and inhuman traffic, is at once denounced—charged as an incendiary and an enemy to the public weal, and at war with the best interests of the Republic."[31]

27 *Ibid.*, II, 83.

28 Pulszky, *op. cit.*, II, 116.

29 Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 156, 160 and Gosse, *op. cit.*, p. 253, seemed to construe this law to mean that an owner could not free his slaves within Alabama but had to carry them elsewhere to do so; John J. Denson, *Slavery Laws in Alabama,* in Alabama Polytechnic Institute *Historical Studies* (Auburn, 1907), p. 25, states that the 1834 emancipation provisional allowed the slave twelve months to leave. Emancipation was not effective until after deportation.

30 Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Denson, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26. The traveler's reports check with Denson on question of sale of manumitted slaves not leaving the state.

31 Wyse, *op. cit.*, II, 3.

Travelers found great difficulty in understanding the paradoxical relationship of the whites and the blacks. It was noted that a white lady did not mind sitting by a Negro field hand in a coach and that an old Negro, offering to pay his fare on a river boat was told, "we do not charge such poor people as you."[32] There were many tales of "great indulgence[s]" toward the servants. They were said to be allowed to have parties at their masters' expense, at which only the best in quality and quantity of food was consumed. They were even permitted to use the family silver and china and one mistress told of personally dressing her maid and adorning the girl with her finest jewels.[33]

Though there was no apparent hope of total or even partial emancipation, small concessions had been made. In some cases, particularly in those of the town and household slave, the Negroes had part of their time off and were allowed to use it as they pleased. One slave, a footman, made money as a bootmaker; "another getting perquisites by blacking the students' shoes [in Tuscaloosa]." On the whole, the conditions of the slaves betokened the character and condition of their owners. Some were well fed, well clothed, and "hilarious," while others were in rags, poor and depressed.[34]

The law occasionally afforded some protection to the Negro in extreme cases. An Alabama farmer in the early 1840's, for example, was fined $10,000 for starving his slaves. In 1844 a bill was about "to be introduced into the Alabama Legislature

32 Pulszky, *op. cit.*, II, 115; Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 152. According to the Dubois Diary it seems to have been the custom to carry riders for short distances without charge.

33 Pulszky, *op. cit.*, II, 118; Lyell, *op. cit.*, II, 84.

34 Alexander Mackay, *The Western World: or Travels in the United States in 1846-47* . . . (Philadelphia, 1849), II, 65. "Mackay, who was born in 1808 and died in 1852, was admitted as a barrister to the Middle Temple in 1847. At the time he visited America in 1846-47 he was on the staff of the London *Morning Chronicle*, and remained with it until 1849 . . . Mackay's point of view in looking at the United States was that of a convinced liberal" (Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 346).

to prevent the separation of families and to make slave property not saleable for debts."

It is an interesting circumstance [wrote Lewis], that slave property is the last kind of property that an unfortunate planter will part with. . . . This was ascribed partly to a personal attachment . . . partly to that love of power over his fellow men . . . and partly because, having slaves, he can either hire them out . . . or he can at any time . . . resume his old employment, and enter upon a new estate.[35]

Philip Gosse, though he called no names and chose not to give the details, hinted of "instruments of torture, devised with diabolical ingenuity," that were "said to be secretly used by planters of the highest standing, for the punishment of refractory negroes. . . ." The weekly allowance of food for the Negroes, he reported, was only a peck of meal and three and a half pounds of meat, with occasionally a little molasses added.[36] Charles Lyell qualified his conclusion, admitting that although he had seen no maltreatment in Alabama he felt that with so much drunkenness among their owners there surely must have been some abuse.[37] Prince Achille Murat did not wish to defend the institution but wished to rectify false notions. He wrote that the works of English writers, citing examples of filthiness and cruelty, contained not "a word of common sense on the subject." It hardly seemed likely to him that a man would destroy his own property.[38]

Although most of Alabama's Indians were beyond the Mississippi by 1839 (and by 1851 those that were left had become a curiosity), they remained in sufficient numbers during the forties to have been mentioned by most travelers.[39] Alabamians, as did the American people as a whole, either feared or

35 *Op. cit.*, pp. 160, 177.
36 *Op. cit.*, pp. 251, 253.
37 *Op. cit.*, II, 66-67.
38 *America and the Americans* (New York, 1849), pp. 67-68.
39 Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 252; Pulszky, *op. cit.*, II, 110; George W. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States. . . .* (New York, 1844), p. 152.

despised them and desired very heartily to be rid of them. Nevertheless, there persisted an admiration for the great chiefs, and pictures of them were to be seen in many places, particularly in hotels and inns.[40] To fear them was quite natural, for as long as they were in the territory there were attacks, large and small, on the white settlements and on the stages. As late as 1836, in the territory between Montgomery and Columbus, Georgia, there had been occasional atrocities.[41]

A few of the Choctaws left near Mobile constituted an item for sightseers. Miss Bremer and Lady Wortley were taken by Madame le Vert to see a small encampment composed of thirteen bark huts, each of which had one end open during the day, like a fair booth. The natives, appearing to be always either eating or preparing food, were a picturesque aggregation of old women sitting by their kettles like witches, handsome children, and plump young "chumpa" girls, merry and looking not unlike Jewesses. A few men, left behind by the hunters, stood about bedecked in multi-colored paints.[42] Lady

40 Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 247.

41 *Ibid.*, I, 247, 253. Around Tuskegee, the Creeks "had been a terror to all the whites of the neighborhood, and massacred many families in cold blood." On the road between Montgomery and Columbus, as late as 1836-1837, a stage coach was wrecked and destroyed and the passengers bound together in a small wigwam and burned alive. P. T. Barnum, (*Struggles and Triumphs of Forty Years Recollections,* Buffalo, 1873, p. 57) traveled this route in 1837 and mentioned that two months previously, a stage had been attacked and its passengers massacred. From the similarities in descriptions it is probable that both stories referred to the same incident.

42 Bremer, *op. cit.*, II, 218-219. Chumpa girls "carried little fagots of pine-wood for sale for fires" and were so named because of the custom of quietly walking into a room or house without knocking, "uttering the magic word of 'Chumpa,' which they seem to consider a sort of 'open Sesame' " (Lady Emmeline S. Wortley, *Travels in the United States, during 1849 and 1850,* New York, 1851, p. 131). Lady Wortley was the daughter of the fifth Duke of Rutland and the granddaughter of the fifth Earl of Carlisle. She wrote poetry and plays of some note. Concerning her *Travels* the London *Spectator,* 1851, noted, " 'The conclusions, indeed, must be taken with allowance. Common travelers see the worst of American society, Lady Wortley saw the best, and saw it, doubtless, on its best behavior' " (Allibone, *op. cit.*, III 2853).

Wortley thought the Indians "a singular people." In winter the extent of their civilization appeared to cease with the wearing of cast off coats of white men "when in full dress, and in drinking the hateful 'firewater.' "[43] Nevertheless, these "displaced persons" appeared to most travelers to have "a certain nobleness" of mien in their "calm, stately, finely-tinted features . . .," an "extreme dignity" and a certain pride of integrity.[44] Though they were poor and wretched, they bore for the most part a remnant of former arrogance and vengefulness.[45] Francis Pulszky described a scene on a gulf steamer: "A haughty, taciturn Choctaw, clad in his black and red ragged garment . . ., his head covered with the black cylinder of European fashion . . . proudly stepped ashore [at Mobile], while his squaw trailed behind with the luggage," which, as the observer suggested, was probably their entire wealth.[46]

And when Buckingham unknowingly asked an employee of an inn, owned by a half blooded Indian, if it were not a good thing for the country that the Indians had been removed beyond the Mississippi, he was told that the owner, upon hearing the story, cursed him and regretted that he had not been there so that he might have shot him. "Such," exclaimed the traveler, "is the vindicative spirit that seems to flow through Indian veins, and which loses but little of its original nature, even by mingling with gentler blood than its own."[47] An ironic observation, to say the least, it depicted very clearly the divergent views of the two races. Those of the "gentler blood" had done little to reassure the Indians during their

[43] *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 130, 133-134; Bremer, *op. cit.*, II, 218-219.

[45] Wortley, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[46] *Op. cit.*, II, 110. This position of the squaw was customary. "Poor creatures! how wearily they seemed plodding along after the ungallant gentlemen of the party, who had burdened themselves with nothing but their guns" (Wortley, *op. cit.*, p. 131).

[47] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 255.

last days in the land of the latter's forefathers. On every side, reported one traveler, they were mistreated and subjected to the scourge of swindlers and dealers in bad liquor.[48] The whites, however, were not the most despicable of people to the natives, who said that "the Great Spirit made first, Indians, then white men, then dogs, and then niggers."[49]

Among those things which the traveler first noticed upon entering a new place was the reception given him by the inhabitants. From almost all reports it would seem that hospitality was an universal virtue in Alabama, from the flourishing cities of Mobile, Tuscaloosa, and Montgomery to the "newly peopled districts."[50] "Frankness, generosity, hospitality, and the liberality of their opinions is proverbial, forming a perfect contrast to the Yankee character. . . ."[51] Richard G. A. LeVinge remarked that " 'the Southerners' enjoy themselves, and like to see their friends do so. . . ." He was also amazed at being able to cash notes at a local banking house in Mobile though he had no letters of introduction and was there only for a brief stay.[52] Francis Pulszky was overcome by the hospitable reception, in Mobile, accorded the party of revolutionist Louis Kossuth, of which he and his wife were members. A cool attitude toward them had been expected inasmuch as an Alabama senator had spoken against Kossuth on the floor of the Senate; but when their presence became known they were eagerly received into the homes of eminent Mobilians.[53]

48 Featherstonhaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

49 Wortley, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

50 Lyell, *op. cit.*, II, 73; Mackay, *op. cit.*, II, 74; Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 288; Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 184; and Pulszky, *op. cit.*, II, 114.

51 Murat, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Gosse, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

52 *Echos from the Backwoods; or Sketches of Transatlantic-Life*, (London, 1846), II, 61-62.

53 Pulszky, *op. cit.*, II, 110-111. Colonel Clemens, Senator from Alabama, had been a prominent opponent of Kossuth in Washington. Besides the occasion above, crowds in Montgomery greeted the party at the docks with cheering and the firing of cannon. Perhaps such behavior was only a manifestation of Alabama hospitality,

Louis F. Tasistro was pleased with the hospitality accorded strangers in the same city and related with relish the round of parties, inevitably including Madame le Vert's.[54] From all accounts, this good lady introduced to the South a combination of Blue Book and Cafe Society.

But if the travelers were enthusiastic over the hospitality, they were no less so in their criticism of the Alabamians' less desirable traits, such as the excessive use of intoxicants and tobacco, as well as the swearing and fighting.[55] It would be difficult to say which was the more distasteful to the visitors, the use of tobacco or the use of whiskey—probably the former, because it was the more prevalent or because it was least common in the European countries. "These youths expectorate away the strength and substance of their bodies," wrote Lewis; and he pondered whether it was malaria and calomel or tobacco that produced the "lean-fleshed and ill-favored look" the young men had.[56] George Featherstonhaugh once wrote that it would be "out of character for a tobacco-eater to be decent."[57] Southerners admitted "that drinking, smoking and chewing were injurious, but thought it impossible to break the habit of either when once contracted. . . ."[58] Some preferred not to try. "I have chewed since I was knee high to a goose and will go on chewing until I'm a gone goose. . . . I have dined on strawberries and taken my baccy for a dessert." Some even deemed it a necessity.[59]

and again perhaps this expression of public sentiment explained why Clemens had only six supporters in the Senate (*ibid.*, II, 114-117).

54 *Random Shots and Southern Breezes,* (New York, 1842), I, 233. Tasistro was a moderately successful actor, who, according to statements in his book, was a contemporary and one time close friend of Tyrone Power.

55 Lyell wrote that "as we go southwards, we see more cases of intoxication, and hear more swearing" (*op. cit.*, II, p. 37).

56 *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

57 *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

58 Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 271-272.

59 Mackay, *op. cit.*, II, 67-68.

Eating habits were considered deplorable and much comment was made by the travelers on this matter. It was noted that both at the *table d'hote* and at boarding houses, travelers must accommodate themselves to regular meal hours. A bell would be rung and all who would eat rushed from the bar or elsewhere. The actual eating itself was so rapidly completed that one writer thought it interesting to clock the winners. The first few left the table in from nine to eleven minutes, still chewing their food; half were gone in fifteen minutes, and the remainder in twenty to twenty-five minutes. "Dispatch, is certainly with the Americans, the very life and soul of business. . .," one traveler commented and added that "dispatch" was not only practiced in business and eating, but at the bar as well.[60]

Among the normal human traits was the prevalence of social distinction. Sir Charles Lyell wrote, "I can scarcely conceive of ostracism of wealth or superior attainments being carried farther." Particularly notable to this gentleman was the working of ostracism in a direction opposite to that to which he was accustomed. If a man who had made a fortune retired to the frontier to become a country gentleman or planter, his fences would be torn down by night and his cattle left to stray by his jealous neighbors. A political candidate, who had nothing more against his opponent than his riches, might win an election on the argument that " a rich man cannot sympathize with the poor." An old legislator, recently defeated in an election, complained to his supporters that he had always voted as instructed. It seemed, however, that sometime prior to this his daughter had attended a ball in a dress with *"flounces,"* the latest Parisian fashion. The explanation he received for his defeat was far from subtle. " 'Do you think,' " it was observed, " ' . . . that they would vote for you,

[60] Wyse, *op. cit.*, II, 311-312.

after your daughter come to the ball in them fixings?' "[61] The small property holders and farmers were so keenly jealous of the thriving lawyers, merchants, and capitalists that one would-be office holder though it a good policy to walk when soliciting votes, though the distance was very great. Traveler Lyell, reflecting upon these matters, expressed relief that he had not brought along his white servants.[62]

To the European the exclusiveness exercised in class distinction where the Negro was involved seemed unnatural and offensive, since southerners made the loudest professions of democratic principles and love of equality. It was admitted, however, that these principles frequently were carried to great lengths when whites alone were involved. A new Irish ditcher at Chehaw, for example, was invited to eat with his employer, "a proprietor." On another occasion a half Indian driver of a gig ("without any change of clothes") was asked by an Alabama lawyer at his country house, to dine at the family table. The Indian's traveler-employer opined, presumedly with some sort of humor, that since the Indian was not African he was "therefore one of the Southern aristocrats." Aboard the river steamers travelers had a singular opportunity to witness a manifestation of class and social distinction in Alabama, particularly the relationship between Negroes, free and slave, and the whites. Under existing conditions it was necessary to serve meals in five groups instead of the usual two in the North.

[61] Lyell, *op. cit.*, II, 69-70. The author's wife learned in Mobile "that the cost of making up a dress . . . was twenty dollars, or four times the ordinary" cost in London, the material for which cost the same as in London. New Orleans was "equally as high."

[62] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 70-71. It appears that, in spite of Lyell's observations, there were some of the more elite of the rural settlers who did not fare so badly. Dubois Diary (December 5, 1842) tells of a family named Sprague that lived near Portland in 1843. In this home, party-goers "danced cotillions" which were so uncommon "in the country" that "Mr. Sps" daughters were about the only ladies who knew how to execute the dance.

The first shift served the cabin passengers; the second, the white nurses, children and officers of the ship; the third, deck passengers; the fourth, white waiters, waited upon by the colored; and fifth, the colored passengers (free and slave), and colored waiters. Thus, most of the day was taken up either preparing or consuming food.[63]

Race and class were not the only excuses for setting forth distinctions. Though the state during this period was little past the backwoods stage, there existed already certain superficialities that accompany civilization, such as pride in titles, fondness for fine names, the vanity of ownership, and a sense of exclusiveness. For example, there appeared to one traveler to be an unusually large number of "judges" in Tuscaloosa. When he inquired into the reason for this he learned that most lawyers at one time or another were elected judge and once having held that office continued to be addressed by the title. The position paid so little that few wished to continue in that capacity, thereby giving other members of the profession a chance at the job—and the title.[64] So, also, were there "settlers . . . fond of fine names" who, as did the Georgians, embossed even their smallest communities with such names as Sparta, Montezuma, Athens, Augusta, Florence, Havannah and Demopolis,[65] settlers by whom "land is possessed, not from a prospect of cultivation but from vanity"[66] and the men of Mobile, who in the quest of exclusiveness, formed secret societies and select clubs.[67] A local custom which seemed noteworthy to the Europeans was that "the places of worship are often thrown open for lectures and profane music, and that

[63] *Ibid.*, II, 56-57. In the North only two tables were served, the first for the passenger and officers and the second for the servants who had waited upon them.

[64] *Ibid.*, I, 88. The judge's position paid about $2500 a year, but not nearly so much as the average lawyer made, according to this writer.

[65] Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 272-273.

[66] Wyse, *op. cit.*, II, 339.

[67] Tasistro, *op. cit.*, I, 234-235.

concert-rooms are occasionally used for worship." Pulszky told of Louis Kossuth's being given the largest hall in Mobile in which to address the public—a hall called *The Circus,* which was used "with democratic equality" for preaching, concerts, lectures and rope dancing.[68]

The moral conditions of the people of Alabama greatly disturbed many of the travelers who then felt called upon to write a few words in behalf of temperance, particularly in the case of Mobile where the variation in standards had considerable range. Of Mobile's total population in the 1840's about half were white:

> They are chiefly engaged in commerce, though there are not wanting the full proportion of legal and medical men; but there are few persons disengaged from all active pursuits, and living a life of leisure. In their manners and style of living, the higher orders partake much of the hospitality and elegance of Charleston and Savannah; and in this rank of society great intelligence, morality and honour are to be found.[69]

These so-called "higher orders" were for the most part, the families of cotton dealers and importers of tropical staples.[70] In the city there was also a class of "most dissolute and unprincipled of men" some few of whom were natives; but the majority were "strangers and sojourners."[71] These lower orders of the Mobile population were "prone to a dissoluteness of manners" equal to that of the same classes of the more immoral European capitals.[72] It was generally thought by the travelers that excessive drunkenness in Mobile had much to do with the prevailing lawlessness:

> Grogshops of the common order abound, at every corner of almost every street. Public bars, and confectionaries, as they are called, for

[68] *Op. cit.,* II, 113.
[69] Buckingham, *op. cit.,* I, 290-291.
[70] Tasistro, *op. cit.,* I, 231.
[71] Buckingham, *op. cit.,* I, 284-285.
[72] Mackay, *op. cit.,* II, 74.

the gentry, are nearly as abundant; and in all of them numbers of well-dressed young men are to be seen smoking cigars, and drinking wine, spirits, and cordials, at an early hour of the day.

Hardly a night passes without a riot or a fight, or a murder at some subsequent time. More than half the fires that occur, spring from the same cause; for drunken habits among masters soon contaminate, by their example, servants and slaves; and the riot of the one furnishes a temptation and excuse for the excesses of the other. . . . It is matter of astonishment, that with such elements of demoralization and destruction so constantly and actively at work, a city could ever make progress.[73]

Neither the description nor the astonishment was unwarranted. In the same year (1839) came the great fire, blamed first on the low Irish who were believed to have burned the city for the purpose of plunder, and later, on the free Negroes who, some thought, hoped to liberate the slaves, massacre the whites, and take the town. It was thought, however, that with so many resources at hand, should it be possible to eradicate the various intemperances, the ambitions of the more industrious and soberer classes would open unlimited possibilities for the city of Mobile.[74] Lewis, visiting the city in 1844, wrote that Mobile had made a great change for the better. The stores were no longer open on Sunday and the tumults, murders or assassinations, and brawls formerly occurring every other night were now becoming rare. He believed that the great calamities, fires and epidemics had brought the change and had actually blessed the city. The churches were better

[73] Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 286-287. Popular bars in Mobile were the "Alhambra," and the "Rialto." Buckingham commented, however, after witnessing a Mobile election, that the day was no more "drunken and riotous" than a similar one in Liverpool.

[74] *Op. cit.*, p. 173; Lyell, *op. cit.*, II, 108. In Mavilla, toward the close of the decade, Fredrika Bremer found the weather sunny and peaceful and the demeanor of the slaves likewise (*op. cit.*, II, 217).

attended and the community had "become more sober minded and temperate in its habits and enterprises."[75]

To Be Concluded

[75] *Op. cit.*, pp. 171-173. The author (p. 166) added that the stores were generally closed on Sunday, except in Mobile; and those open there were usually owned by Spaniards, Frenchmen and Jews. Many foreign shop-owners lived in the same buildings in which their shops were located. It seems possible that many may have appeared to be open that were not actually carrying on trade (Herbert Weaver, "Foreigners in Ante-Bellum Towns of the Lower South," *Journal of Southern History*, XIII, 62-73, February, 1947).

Early Baptist Printing In Alabama

By RHODA COLEMAN ELLISON

ASIDE FROM STATE LAWS and legislative journals, no body of material published in Alabama before and during the Civil War bulks so large or was issued so regularly as the minutes of the associations of the numerous Baptist churches. By 1870, a recent survey reveals, at least 229 such pamphlets had been printed, as compared with only 34, 25, and 22 for the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist denominations, respectively.[1]

Apparently, the more highly centralized governments of other prominent frontier denominations gave less attention to the small units within the church, and, moreover, encouraged the patronage of sectarian publishing houses in out-of-state centers. No other denomination in early Alabama regularly published records of a body so small as the Baptist association, which sometimes consisted of no more than eight or ten churches. The Methodists printed the minutes of the Annual Alabama Conference; the Presbyterians, of the Synod of Alabama; and the Episcopalians, of the Annual Convention of the Diocese of Alabama. Occasionally these Methodist and Presbyterian pamphlets were printed out of the state, as, for example, were *The Minutes of the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Held in Montgomery, Alabama, December 12-21, 1860* (Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1861), and *The Minutes of the Synod of Alabama, Convened in Government*

[1] Only 33 of the 229 Baptist pamphlets are not association minutes. For titles, see Rhoda Coleman Ellison, *A Check List of Alabama Imprints 1807-1870* (University, Alabama, 1946), *passim*.

Street Church, Mobile, December 9-13, 1858 (New Orleans: True Witness Book and Job Office, 88 Gravier Street, 1858). But the independence of the autonomous Baptist congregations contributed toward keeping the associational printing jobs not only within the state but also usually within the area of the few counties comprising the particular association.

Not even state government publications appeared with more regularity than did these quaint, pastel-paper-bound pamphlets, bearing amid scrolls and other ornamentation such resounding titles as *Minutes of the Second Annual Session of the Mulberry Baptist Association, Begun and Held at the Harmony Meeting House, Autauga County, Alabama, from the 12th to the 15th September, inclusive* A. D. *1829*.[2] Throughout most of the nineteenth century very much the same procedure was followed in getting these minutes through the presses, and in general the same regularity was maintained. Not even the Civil War, which shrank some newspapers to a fraction of their former size and extinguished others completely, could discourage the Baptist associations, although it brought them many difficulties which are clearly reflected in their annual minutes.

2 The earliest issues of Baptist association minutes in Alabama as yet located are *Minutes of the Bigby [Beckbee—later Bethlehem] Baptist Association, Convened at Ulconsh Meeting House, Clarke County, Alabama, on Saturday before the Second Lord's Day in September, 181[9]* and *Minutes of the Cahawba Baptist Association: Began [sic] and Held at Ebenezer Meeting House, Tuscaloosa County, on Saturday preceding the Fourth Lord's Day in October, 1819.* Among other early issues are: *Minutes of the Cahawba Baptist Association, Began [sic] and Held at Mulberry Meeting House, Cahawba County . . . October, 1820; Minutes of the Beckbee Baptist Association Convened at Bassett's Creek Meeting House, Clark [e] County, Alabama . . . September 1822; Minutes of the Constitution of the [Mount Zion] Baptist Association Begun and Held at Mount Zion Meetinghouse, in St. Clair County on Friday, November 21st, 1823, and the Following Days; Minutes of the Beckbe[e] Association, Held at the Hurricane Church, Washington County, Ala. . . September, 1825; Minutes of the Eight[h] Annual Session of the Cahawba Baptist Association, Convened at Oakmulgee Meeting-House, Perry County, . . October . . . 1825; Minutes of the Bethlehem Baptist Association Convened at the Olive-Branch Church,*

Every autumn without fail the associations met at churches whose names were usually either Biblical (Mt. Zion, Bethany, Canaan, Pisgah, Beulah, Mt. Gilead) or suggestive of their frontier setting (Indian Spring Meeting House, Breastwork Meeting House, Murder Creek Meeting House, Ft. Dale Meeting House). Within a few weeks afterwards the minutes were printed by a newspaper press in a nearby village. Normally this village was within the bounds of the association, and frequently it was within the county in which the meeting was held. A satisfactory printer, however, was often able to hold the contract for several years. After the Beulah Association had met in September, 1843, at Sharon in Chambers County, the minutes were printed in October by the *Chambers Herald* office at LaFayette, the county seat.[3] During the four following years the same printers retained the contract, although the association convened sometimes in Chambers and sometimes in the adjoining counties of Russell or Randolph. After wandering back and forth across the state line (the association territory extended into Georgia), the Beulah printing contract settled with Gilbert and Barron of Louina, Alabama, from 1854 through 1857, during which years the association met in Chambers, Tallapoosa, and Macon counties, respectively. Probably since there were more large towns in the Alabama Association, its minutes did not roam so much.[4] Usually they were printed in Montgomery, and, if not, then in Selma, Tuskegee, or, more often than either, Hayneville, where E. W.

Conecuh County . . . 1827; Minutes of the Fifth Annual Session of the Mount Zion Baptist Association, Convened at Hebron Meeting-House, Shelby County, Alabama . . . September . . . 1828; Minutes of the Bethlehem Baptist Association Convened at Claiborne Church, Monroe County, . . 1830.

3 In 1843 and 1844 the firm was Brittan and Marshall, but in 1845 it became Brittan and Adams. The Beulah Association comprised churches in Russell, Chambers, Macon, Tallapoosa, and Randolph counties.

4 In the Alabama Association there were represented congregations from Dallas, Butler, Montgomery, Autauga, Macon, and Lowndes counties.

Thompson, editor of the *Spirit of the Times and Hayneville Observer* did a good job through the thirties and forties.

The business of securing a printer was then, as now, delegated to the clerk of the association, who was paid for superintending the work. In the early years the fee was often as small as $8, as, for example, in 1827, 1828, and 1829 in the Bethlehem Association.[5] In the 1830's the Alabama Association was allotting an amount varying from $20 to $40 for the clerk's services. The East Liberty minutes of 1841 record a clerk's fee of $25,[6] and the Beulah minutes of the early 1840's show an average disbursement of $20 for the same purpose. The Tuscaloosa Association, however, allowed its clerk only $15 in 1841. At least once the Beulah Association, motivated by either generosity or desperation, agreed "to give the clerk for his services the remainder after printing the minutes," and at another time recorded "in debt to Clerk for services last year, $11.25." As certain of the Bethlehem minutes indicate, the clerks were worthy of their hire, for they met many emergencies. In 1861 and 1862 the minutes of the Bethlehem Association were lost, perhaps in each case as a result of frontier mail conditions. In 1861 the printer, R. B. Witter of Sparta, failed to reply or to return the manuscript, and in 1862 the clerk recorded that the original manuscript had been lost in the mail.[7]

[5] The Bethlehem Association, originally organized by churches in Washington and Clarke counties in 1816 under the name of Beckbee, "increased . . . till it extended from the Mississippi line on the west, to the eastern limit of Conecuh County, and from the southern boundary of Lowndes county on the north to the Gulf of Mexico" (B. F. Riley, *A Memorial History of the Baptists of Alabama,* Philadelphia, 1923, p. 22).

[6] East Liberty was composed of churches in Randolph, Chambers, Tallapoosa, Macon, Russell, and Coosa counties.

[7] An earlier clerk of the Bethlehem Association was the remarkable Elder Jacob H. Schroebel of Charleston, who, after serving an apprenticeship in the tanning and currying business, became pastor of the St. Anthony Street Church, Mobile. Before he was "stricken down by the yellow fever" on December 21, 1842, he had served as clerk of the association for the greater part of his fifteen years' member-

The number of copies of the minutes printed varied with the association and the year, running sometimes as low as 500 copies and sometimes as high as 2,000, and the cost of printing fluctuated with little relation to the number of copies. In the 1820's the Bethlehem Association was paying its printer rates of from $36 to $47.12½. In the following decade the Alabama Association, always somewhat more prosperous, was ordering three or four times as many copies and paying from $45 to $70. The conservative Tuscaloosa Association recorded a printer's bill of $52 in 1841. The sort of conditions sometimes laid down in the contracts is revealed by a note printed on the last page of the Beckbee (later Bethlehem) Association minutes of 1826, of which 500 copies were issued by the Tuscaloosa *Chronicle*. "This pamphlet was contracted for by the Rev. William Jones, to be done for forty-six dollars, providing it did not exceed twenty-four pages; but as it has made more, we reasonably expect a proportionate remuneration.—Printer." In an issue of the same association nearly twenty years later, the printer enumerated specifically the steps taken in preparing the pamphlet: "Received of Rev. Hanson Lee, Clerk of the Bethlehem Baptist Association, fifty-three dollars in full for printing, folding, cutting and stitching fifteen hundred copies of minutes of said association. James H. Curtis, Claiborne, Alabama. October 20, 1845."[8]

Alabama Baptists continued publishing their records with the same stolid regularity even through the difficult 1860's, although by the last years of the Civil War hundreds of clergymen and printers had gone into the Confederate army.[9] The

ship in it (*Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Anniversary of the Bethlehem Baptist Association*, Mobile, 1843, pp. 12-14).

[8] *Minutes of the Twenty-ninth Anniversary of the Bethlehem Baptist Association* (Claiborne, 1845), p. 8.

[9] The *South Western Baptist*, a vigorous weekly founded in Montgomery in 1850 and subsequently published in Tuskegee, quoted the *Macon Confederate* (Macon, Ga.), February 25, 1864, as saying that at least 75% of the printers were in the army.

minutes of the war years reveal in many ways that 1864 was crucial for the Confederacy as well as for the Baptists within its bounds. After adopting resolutions of approval in 1861, most of the associations made no mention of the war again until 1864. In that year they expressed their concern by means of numerous resolutions: to hold a week of prayer "in behalf of our bleeding country";[10] "never to submit on any terms to political union" with the enemies who had "conducted this wicked and unjust war"; to donate all money left in the treasury to army missions, and, finding it impossible to obtain more Bibles, to distribute copies of the *South Western Baptist* to Montgomery hospitals;[11] to oppose profiteering; and to adopt belatedly a program of religious instruction for slaves.[12] Even the Beulah Association, which was unusual in making no earlier reference to the war, was by 1864 willing to grant it a parenthesis in expressing regret for the poor attendance at the annual meeting.[13]

[10] *Minutes of the Forty-eighth Annual Session of the Bethlehem Baptist Association* (Claiborne, 1864), p. 6.

[11] *Minutes of the Forty-fifth Session of the Alabama Baptist Association* (Montgomery, 1864), pp. 8, 17. "We pledge ourselves to give or to sell to the poor and to the needy families of soldiers at such prices as they may be able to pay, that none may suffer from the common necessaries of life" (p. 11).

[12] This resolution echoed the "Report on Religious Instruction of Colored People" made in the State Convention the preceding fall (1863), which stated the "painful truth" "that we have not discharged our whole duty to this important class of our population, may that their moral and spiritual culture have been sadly neglected. It may be for this, among other reasons, that God is now visiting our land with the scourge of war. If this be so, the chastisement . . . will not be removed until we realize the sacredness of the obligation and begin in earnest the great work of promoting the spiritual welfare of our servants" (*Minutes of the Forty-first* [*Forty-second*] *Annual Session, Alabama Baptist State Convention 1863*, p. 10).

[13] The "Corresponding Letter" of the *Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Annual Session of the Beulah Baptist Association* (Dadeville, 1864) comments: "The representation has not been full, but we desire to be reconciled to the dealing of God with us. We have been refreshed by the preaching of your Messengers. We desire a continuance of your correspondence, and hope that the cause, which has kept many of your Messengers from visiting us this year (the invasion of our

The early years of the conflict brought little change in the cost of printing, but by 1863-1864 Confederate inflation had sky-rocketed the fees paid to both clerk and printer. The collapse of the Confederacy in the spring of 1865 resulted in a fairly uniform return to normal printing costs, however. For example, the Alabama Association, which had allotted $30 for the clerk's services in 1861, was paying $100 in 1864 and only $40 in 1865. The charges of printers varied in much the same way. After paying $25 for printing in each of the years 1860, 1861, and 1862, the Beulah Association suddenly tripled the amount in 1863 and in 1864, and just as abruptly reduced it to $20 in 1865 and $22 in 1866. A similar graph could be made of the Bethlehem Association costs, which rose from $64.90 in 1862 to $200 in 1864, before showing a comparable drop in post-war years.

The fortunes of the Confederacy and of its Baptists may be traced as easily though the varying quality of paper and printing as through the sudden changes in printing costs. Although the minutes continued to appear with heroic regularity, eventually they all reflected the acute paper shortage. The Montgomery *Advertiser* used fairly coarse paper in preparing the Alabama Association pamphlet of 1862, but the issue of 1864 was much poorer in both paper and type. Materials used in the Beulah Association minutes did not become rough until 1863, when Thweatt and Oliver, publishers of the Dadeville *Banner and Times,* printed them. During 1864, when they were again issued by the same press, and 1865, when they were produced in Opelika, both paper and printing continued to be of the cheapest quality. Not until 1869 did their ap-

country), may be removed, and that we may meet many of you at our next session, which will be held 'if the Lord will,' with the church at Wehadka, Randolph Co., one mile north of Rock Mills, on Saturday before the 3rd Sunday in September 1865."

pearance improve. By that year Alabama Baptist printing had survived the worst crisis in its history.

A sampling of early association minutes reveals at first hand the story of the growth and survival of Baptist printing in the state. From Pigeon Creek Church in Monroe County to the Claiborne newspaper printing office, from Tallasahatchie Meeting House in the Talladega County backwoods to the Talladega office, the minutes had not far to go, and the business of producing the thin, closely printed little pamphlet was dispatched in the printer's odd moments. Neither high printing costs nor a paper shortage could offer any real discouragement. Governments might rise and fall, but the village presses continued to grind out the minutes. Although no one of the issues is in itself impressive, the total number of Baptist church pamphlets (and surely many more are yet to be unearthed) makes the largest and most significant contribution to early Alabama sectarian printing. In the first half-century of Alabama's publishing history it forms an important chapter.[14]

14 The two largest collections of Alabama Baptist association minutes in the state are probably those held by the State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, and the Alabama Baptist Historical Society Archives, Howard College, Birmingham.

Augusta Evans Wilson As Confederate Propagandist

By WILLIAM PERRY FIDLER

When Augusta Jane Evans (she was known as Augusta Evans Wilson after her marriage in 1868) embarked upon her career as pro-southern propagandist, her persuasive voice carried authority among many classes of readers. Her sentimental novel, *Beulah* (1859), had already attracted much attention among readers whose critical standards were shaped by the moralizing and pathos in the popular novels of domestic sentimentalism—a genre as old as Richardson's *Pamela* and perpetuated by a long line of imitators in England and America.[1] The "message" in *Beulah* appealed to another class of readers, some of whom were pleased with the author's frankness in tracing the heroine's quest for certitude in faith, and others believed their Fundamentalism was bolstered by the solution of Beulah's doubts in an unquestioning return to the faith of her fathers.

When Miss Evans turned her attention to politics, a large audience was ready to listen. Who was better prepared to define the moral issues in the southern position than a Christian young woman who had written "what may be considered one of the best American novels . . . [which contained] chapters of deep pathos . . . worthy of the most eminent in the walks of literature"?[2] Did not a critic from far-away New York confirm the judgment of *DeBow's Review:* "It is a book

1 *Pamela,* the first novel printed in America, was issued in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin in 1744 and was widely read throughout the colonies.

2 *DeBow's Review,* XVII, 491 (October, 1859).

that would do credit to any pen"?[3] And the eminent *Southern Literary Messenger,* anticipating the author's regional prejudices, devoted nine pages to an argument that books like *Beulah* indicate that southern authors are bound to excel their northern rivals because "the mind takes its impress from the scenes which surround it," and the South can offer its creative artists "the fairest forms of noble beauty," a valuable system of aesthetics, and a regional "fancy that culls the fairest flowers that bloom in the realms of ideal thought."[4]

Later critical analysis of *Beulah* is less enthusiastic than the first estimates, but the regional pride and pompous rhetoric which characterize the ante-bellum criticism of the novel became serviceable advertisements for an author who was about to become a zealous defender of southern manners and politics.

Miss Evans's career as propagandist reached its height in her war novel, *Macaria* (1863), but her first defence of the South was probably a series of four unsigned articles which appeared in the Mobile *Advertiser* in October and November, 1859. These selections, admittedly by the same author, contain ideas often expressed in Miss Evans's novels and are written in a style distinctly like her own.[5]

The articles are subtle counter-propaganda to the oft-repeated charge that the South must accept responsibility for

[3] New York *Morning Courier and Enquirer,* October 1, 1859.

[4] XXXI, 248 (October, 1860)

[5] Most critics of *St. Elmo, Vashti,* and *Tiberius* have praised or ridiculed Mrs. Wilson's pompous erudition, and these articles contain her characteristic metaphors: "Whose hydra head is a thousand times more self prolific than that of the Lernaean Serpent," and "a monstrous literary *lusus naturae.*" Like her novels, these articles are studded with political, literary, and mythological allusions—all rare and erudite. Numerous references to the periodical literature of the day also point to Miss Evans, whose letters reveal an astonishing knowledge of current magazines. Besides this internal evidence, Miss Evans confessed to Mary Forrest that she contributed "book notices for the Mobile papers" at this time (Mary Forrest [Mrs. Julia Dean Freeman], *Women of the South Distinguished in Literature,* New York, 1860, p. 331).

sanctioning an immoral institution. Instead of defending slavery, this author levels charges of immorality against the North, her chief targets being literature and journalism, areas of northern "culture" long praised for their devotion to idealistic principles. The land of "Black Republicanism," she charges, accepts the indecencies and lies of northern publishers in the name of culture because such utterances sell widely, and the dollar is all that matters up there. This so-called "literature" of the northern press is something less than a national asset, as often claimed; it is "a disgrace to its authors and insulting to the intelligence of the American people."[6] Southern readers are assured that noble literature has no political axe to grind, and that the propaganda machines of the North may be dismissed as unsound in principle and suspect in motive. She charges that northern literature neglects its moral duty to instruct in order that it may cater to popular taste and earn money; thus its appeal is to the basest instincts of man, and its influence fosters immorality.[7]

No clearer indication is needed that the time is ripe for war than abuse of this kind, leveled at a region's belles-lettres, which are non-partisan for the most part. The acceptance of a *de facto* division between the North and South in 1859, the emotional tenor of the style, and the stress upon what were conceived to be "principles" rather than party or regional policies, suggest that the author was dedicated to the views of another widely advertised States Rights advocate from Alabama—William Lowndes Yancey.

One recognizes in Miss Evan's argument (if it is hers) the hate-symbols commonly urged against the North at the time, and conversely, the implied opposites which were soon to find cherished places in the South's view of its "Cause:" (1) northerners are cold and mercenary (southerners are genial and

[6] Mobile *Advertiser*, October 11, 1859.

[7] *Ibid.*, October 11, 16, 30, November 6, 1859, *passim*.

idealistic); (2) love of money has made northerners corrupt and impersonal (southerners prefer refined, humanitarian sentiment to material forms of wealth); (3) literature in the North is viewed objectively as a commercial product (southerners write from their hearts, with beauty and truth as their aims); and (4) northerners debase literature for political ends (southerners cherish the cultural, non-partisan values of literature). If judged solely as *propaganda,* Miss Evans's arguments were wisely chosen as instruments against such effective weapons in the "cold war" of 1840-1860 as *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* the speeches of Webster, Lincoln, and Garrison, and the poetry of Whittier—all widely reprinted. The Mobilian's earliest rhetoric did not receive widespread distribution, but she was learning her craft so well that five years later the appeal of her *Macaria* forced a northern general to issue a ban against the novel among his troops and to burn all available copies.[8]

A few months after the publication of these articles, Miss Evans had an experience as melodramatic as the climaxes of her *St. Elmo* or *Infelice.* While visiting in New York she became engaged to James Reed Spaulding, a prominent journalist who founded the New York *World* in 1860. Later correspondence between them revealed that his zeal for the views of Lincoln was just as ardent as his fiancée's defence of the South's position.[9] As viewed in our sober time, Miss Evans's decision to "sacrifice" her affection for the Yankee journalist and break the engagement may have the appearance

[8] General G. H. Thomas, commanding a Federal army in Tennessee (Willis Brewer, *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record, and Public Men,* Montgomery, 1872, p. 423).

[9] Spaulding wrote such persuasive editorials for the *World* and the New York *Times* that the prominent publisher, J. C. Derby, was prompted to call him "the boldest master of political invective ever known on the American press. A man of great soul and honest purpose" (*Fifty Years Among Authors,* New York, 1886, p. 392).

of youthful heroics, but few of us can feel the complex tensions of 1860-1861. She was too discreet to capitalize upon her own experience, but those in her confidence undoubtedly read several meanings in the sub-title of *Macaria:* "Altars of Sacrifice."

After secession, Miss Evans became a friend and confidential correspondent of several statesmen and generals of the Confederacy. She visited in Montgomery during the exciting weeks of February, 1861, when Jefferson Davis was forming his cabinet, and Henry W. Hilliard gave a tea in her honor.[10] J. L. M. Curry trusted her judgment on political and intellectual questions so fully that he altered his speeches in accordance with her suggestions.[11] When she informed General P. G. T. Beauregard of her project to write a novel about the Confederacy, he interrupted his wartime duties in order to compose a report for her "of the battles of Bull Run and Manassas" which she wished to incorporate in the forthcoming *Macaria.*[12] She knew Senator Benjamin H. Hill well

[10] Thomas Cobb of Georgia wrote his wife about his impressions of Miss Evans ("Correspondence of Thomas Reade Rootes Cobb, 1860-1862," *Publications of the Southern History Association,* XI, 241, 245, July, 1907).

[11] Curry wrote her that he planned to speak in Richmond, Virginia, on the subject, "Is the Character of Southern Women Prejudicially Affected by Slavery?" She sent him an extensive analysis of the question, admitting that free women have been adversely affected by slavery, and suggested that Curry would find the following topic more timely and effective: "Political and Social Quicksands of the Future." He accepted her advice and spoke on the subject mentioned by her (Letters, Augusta Jane Evans to J. L. M. Curry, July 15 and October 16, 1863, Curry Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress; photostatic copies in University of Alabama Library). In other letters to Curry, Miss Evans discussed such questions as the removal of General Forney and the appointment of General Buckner at Mobile, the defences of Mobile, the dangers of the Exemption Bill, the advantages of open debate in the Confederate Congress, desertion in the Confederate armies, the Confederate Copyright Act, the faults in Mill's *Political Economy,* the "effete theory" of universal suffrage, and the dangers of Confederate "military despotism" (*ibid.,* December 20, 1862, January 27, 1864, and October 7, 1865).

[12] Letter, General Beauregard to Augusta J. Evans, March 24, 1863, Louisiana Historical Association, New Orleans, Louisiana.

enough for him to write her of his fear about disunion in the Confederacy in the year 1865.[13] Robert Toombs was a close friend of the Evans family, and at the end of the war he escaped through the Federal lines in Alabama and found refuge in the Evans home in Mobile.[14] The high esteem of these important people lent great weight to Miss Evans's voice as she defended the cause of the South.

The letters written by Miss Evans after Alabama's secession contain the same fanatical patriotism which prompted her to break the engagement to Spaulding. She rebuked a famous Tennessee authoress, Mrs. L. Virginia French, for opposing Georgia's secession.[15] When Mrs. Almira Hart Phelps, principal of the Patapsco Female Institute in Maryland, announced her northern sympathies, Miss Evans struck "her rudely from the lofty pedestal where I long ago placed her." Even "Marion Harland" (pen-name of Mrs. Mary Virginia Terhune), whom Miss Evans described as "the boast and ornament of Virginia literature," was dismissed from her circle of friends with "shame and indignation" when Miss Evans learned that Mrs. Terhune had "remained at the North [with her Yankee husband] living contentedly among the oppressors of the only free people left upon the American continent."[16]

Early in the war, Miss Evans organized a hospital for Confederate soldiers in a vacant house near her home in Summerville, a suburb of Mobile. The officer in charge officially named the hospital "Camp Beulah," in honor of her last

[13] Haywood T. Pearce, *Benjamin H. Hill: Secession and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1928), p. 107.

[14] Toombs left records of his admiration for Miss Evans's intellect (Pleasant A. Stovall, *Robert Toombs: Statesman, Speaker, Soldier, Sage,* New York, 1892, p. 302).

[15] Letter, Augusta Jane Evans to Mrs. L. Virginia French, January 13, 1861, in possession of Mrs. Fred Frazier, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

[16] Letter, Augusta Jane Evans to Janie Tyler, March 14, 1862, copy supplied by Dr. E. P. Lipscomb, Rochester, New York, who obtained it from Mrs. Floyd of Richmond, Virginia, in June, 1885.

novel.[17] As a token of appreciation for her services as war nurse, General Beauregard made her a present of his personal diamond-studded pen.[18]

In 1862, Miss Evans published a curious piece of Confederate propaganda under the title of "The Mutilation of the Hermae."[19] The major portion of this article is an account of "one of the most remarkable riddles which the Sphinx of history propounds," the mutilation of the marble images of Hermes which stood before many of the dwellings in ancient Athens, a sacrilege which took place in 415 B.C., on the eve of the Athenian expedition against Sicily. With an impressive array of erudition—which distinguishes most of Miss Evans's writings—the author presents the setting and offers an explanation for the incident.[20] Her propaganda is reserved for the final paragraphs, in which she uses bombastic rhetoric in a comparison of this ancient sacrilege with "the mutilation of the American Constitution by the depraved and unprincipled politicians of the North. . . The civilized world gazes in amazement at their unblushing and fanatical sacrilege." The destruction of "Black Republicanism" can be achieved only through the success of "Southern Confederacy."[21]

[17] Thomas Cooper DeLeon, "Biographical Reminiscences," *Devota* (New York, 1913), pp. 151-155; Mobile *Advertiser,* March 20, 1926.

[18] Letter, Augusta J. Evans to General Beauregard, August 4, 1862, in possession of Miss Mary Gaillard, Mobile, Alabama.

[19] *Gulf City Home Journal* (Mobile), November 9, 1862. A clipping of the article, with the author's autograph, and an accompanying letter acknowledging her authorship, are on file in the Curry Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

[20] It was probably a "subtle political strategy," Miss Evans suggests, planned to cast odium upon Alcibiades "by coupling the mutilation with his indiscreet betrayal of Eleusian mysteries, and drunken mockery of the rite of Demeter and Persephone."

[21] Admirers of *St. Elmo* will recall that the heroine, Edna Earl, publishes an article in Mr. Manning's New York journal entitled "Who Smote the Marble Gods of Greece?" The hero, St. Elmo Murray, reads this article aloud and harshly ridicules the scholarship on which it is based (*St. Elmo,* New York, 1866, pp. 257-259).

Sometime in 1863 Miss Evans completed her war novel, *Macaria,* so highly regarded by Beauregard for its propagandistic value to the Confederacy. Many passages of the book had been written on wrapping paper as the young authoress attended the sick rebels at Camp Beulah and Fort Morgan. A copy of the Confederate edition, bound in wall-paper and printed on crude brown paper by West and Johnson of Richmond, Virginia, was smuggled by the author to her friendly New York publisher, J. C. Derby, who made arrangements to re-issue the novel for Miss Evans's northern admirers.[22]

Macaria, "the most popular novel published in the South during the war,"[23] became a favorite among Confederate troops.[24] The early chapters of the book—before the action reaches the period of secession—differ only slightly from the conventional novel of domestic sentimentalism, a type of fiction which became America's favorite reading material in the nineteenth century. These works abound in sentiment and moralizing, with far greater emphasis upon rewards for virtue and punishments for misconduct than upon realistic handling of character, setting, and conflicts. In *Macaria,* the leading characters are virtuous, dignified southerners whose home-life, social standards, treatment of slaves, and interest in public affairs are models of propriety and cultural refinement—in short, they are idealized southerners who are made to conform to a propagandist's morale-building picture of the South before and during the war. In the first twenty-six chapters, the author's aloofness from political questions enhances the effect of her propaganda, for the southern reader would be impressed with the necessity of protecting such gentility and

22 Derby, *op. cit.,* pp. 392-395.

23 A. B. Moore, *History of Alabama and Her People* (Chicago, 1927), I, 557.

24 Derby, *op. cit.,* p. 393; Mobile *Register,* May 10, 1909; Louise Manly, "Augusta Evans Wilson: 1835-1909," in Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris, editors, *Library of Southern Literature* (Atlanta, 1907), XIII, 5842.

peace as the author describes, and the northern reader would begin to question the accuracy of charges made by Mrs. Stowe, Seward, Garrison, Hinton Helper, Theodore Parker and others.

The war chapters in *Macaria,* covering the last one hundred and twenty pages, present a zealous defence of southern leadership and a full statement of the ideals for which Confederates believed they were fighting. Other passages, less rational perhaps but more memorable as propaganda, are enriched with the author's command of sentimental effects: scenes dramatizing the departure of friends, sons, and brothers; accounts of housewives sewing diligently or directing the manufacture of goods for troops;[25] touching recitals of loyal slaves who remain near their mistresses and work the fields; narratives of other courageous slaves who accompany their masters into battle; and stirring tributes to the generals and to "the private in the ranks." Hackneyed though it is, the description of a bullet's striking the heroine's ambrotype, which is carried in the breast-pocket of the hero, thus saving his life, is good wartime propaganda. This passage may be the basis for the well-circulated story that the life of a Confederate was saved when another Yankee bullet was stopped by a copy of *Macaria*, also carried over the rebel's heart.[26]

These emotional materials from the daily lives of a people at war are buttressed by authentic accounts of Confederate victories in the first year of the war. Beauregard's notes, previously mentioned, are probably much condensed in the novel, but Miss Evans's account is rich in details. One highly romantic incident in *Macaria* is undoubtedly taken from Beauregard's letter and notes: Miss Evans relates with much emotion

25 "Without household manufacture, the war would not have lasted long" (Moore, *op. cit.*, I, 554).

26 Manly, *op.cit.*, XIII, 5842; Frances Arant, "St. Elmo Recalled as Latest Best Sellers Swamp Book-Weary Nation," Birmingham *News*, April 3, 1927.

the flight of "a young lady of Washington" through the Federal lines, carrying secret information "in the twist of her luxuriant hair" which would inform Beauregard and Johnston of "the designs of McDowell and the archapostate, Scott."[27] In his letter to Miss Evans, General Beauregard describes an identical service rendered by a "Miss Duval of Washington," who brought information through the lines on July 10, 1861, which enabled Beauregard to prepare his forces to meet "the positive advance of the enemy across the Potomac."[28]

Miss Evans's treatment of political issues in *Macaria* is as biased as the prejudices underlying her emotional scenes—that is, it suits the requirements of wartime propaganda. Here and there the author and her leading characters refer to the North as a land of "shameless, hideous Abolitionism," harassed by a mob of zealots who would put the South in "Yankee Egyptic bondage." Lincoln's minions have begun the "iniquitous task of . . . setting aside all constitutional forms"; the press of the North is "muzzled," and "habeas corpus is no more." Liberty has "fled from her polluted fane" and seeks protection "on the banner of the Confederacy." The name "Union" has become "everywhere a symbol of political duplicity." The enraged people of the North, "hireling hordes of oppression," are blinded by "avarice and hate," and would exercise over the South the same intolerance and bigotry that characterized Puritanism in "the Cain-cursed race of New England."

On the other hand, the South—"the bodyguard for the lib-

[27] *Macaria* (New York, 1864), chapter XXX.

[28] Letter, General Beauregard to Augusta J. Evans, March 24, 1863. Mrs. P. L. Howell, of the Louisiana Historical Association, stated in 1941 that the facts in Beauregard's letter had not been published. The manuscript containing the General's "reports of the Battles of Bull Run and Manassas" has not been located, but Beauregard states in his accompanying letter that the reports were being forwarded at that time: "not copied however to my satisfaction, but for fear of further delays I send them as they are by the Southern Express Company."

erty of the Republic"—is calm and confident. All blame for secession rests upon the government at Washington, for southern leaders tried "honorably" to withstand northern "political despotism," but were forced to withdraw when their Constitutional rights were ignored by the party of Lincoln. Since all "just governments rest upon the consent of the governed," the South had no choice but to accept the "Revolution" and fight for her "Independence." Because of the "stern resolution and self-abnegation" of southern women and the "God fearing prayer" and bravery of southern men, success is assured.[29]

This direct propaganda is enforced with arguments which would appeal especially to the thoughtful conservatives in the South.[30] The hero of *Macaria,* Russell Aubrey, warns southern leaders that the "hydra-headed foe of democracy . . ., demagogism," is responsible for northern abolition sentiment. To throttle the power of the demagogues and preserve the southern way of life, he proposes that suffrage among foreign-born be limited, that a property clause be a requisite for voting, that the judiciary be appointed for life, and that the President's term of office be lengthened.[31] The neglect of such restrictions upon expanding "demagogism" was the cause of Lincoln's election, the author appears to argue through her hero, and secession was the result of not listening to the advice of southern conservatism.

In the last chapters of the book the author presents (through two leading characters) a detailed discussion of the dangers which beset the Confederacy. "Demagogism" and "nepotism" must be obliterated before the new nation can

[29] Chapters XXVII-XXVIII, *passim.*

[30] Miss Evans was descended on both sides from the planter class, though her father was quite poor throughout her childhood. Her maternal line, the Howards of Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia, was composed of many highly prosperous planters and prominent civic leaders.

[31] Chapters XX-XXI, *passim.*

fulfil her destiny. The possibility of secession among the Confederate States[32] can be avoided by courageous leadership and wise legislation. A few specific proposals are made: (1) "chemical" preservation of the soil will forestall agricultural unrest and discourage migrations to new lands in the West; (2) the hateful "protection" system of tariffs will be avoided by discouraging the establishment of factories in the South; (3) southern ports will be opened to free trade—except to the markets of "Lincolndom"; (4) Congress will be given the power to appoint cabinet members and diplomats; and (5) Confederate Presidents will be elected for their "intrinsic ability and nobility of soul," not because they are submissive "party-machine" candidates. These reforms, together with the absence of "antagonistic systems of labor," will curtail the power of demagogues and will insure Confederate solidarity.[33]

Macaria received the attention of both southern and northern reviewers in 1864, but the limited wartime editions prevented the novel from reaching the "best-seller" status of other works by Mrs. Wilson—*Beulah, St. Elmo, Infelice* (1875) and *At the Mercy of Tiberius* (1887). However, the astonishing success of *St. Elmo,* from 1866 to the present time,[34] has induced many of the author's admirers to open *Macaria* and look for the "old-fashioned" elements which have attracted millions of readers—in spite of the adverse opinions of latter-day critics. *Macaria* was composed as the author's dutiful memorial to a cause she loved, though its rhetoric

32 The question of the right to secede is omitted in the Confederate Constitution.

33 Chapters XXXII- XXXVI, *passim.*

34 In the year 1912—forty-six years after its appearance—nine publishers were offering thirteen issues of *St. Elmo.* In 1928, the novel could be bought in six cheap issues, published by four firms. In 1948, three publishers keep *St. Elmo* in stock. At least eleven dramatic versions of the novel are known, and two movie adaptations have appeared. One photoplay featured such stars as John Gilbert, Warner Baxter, Bessie Love, and Barbara LaMarr (released by William Fox Studios in September, 1923).

probably has less appeal today than other qualities which readers find in all of Mrs. Wilson's books: pure heroines and noble heroes, dignified language, brocaded furnishings reminiscent of grandmother's day, eloquent marriage proposals. and plots which enforce good morals and produce pathetic situations. Of these fictional appeals, the most persuasive is that of "remembrancer," as one critic aptly said,[35] for Mrs. Wilson's novels are like mirrors of a "better time," cherished reminders of social traditions and standards of conduct once honored but often forgotten in a later day. Her Confederate propaganda is certainly not out of place in this sentimental view of the past, but its practical values have merged, probably disappeared, in the book's contribution to the romantic myth in which the North and the South have embalmed the War Between the States.

[35] In reviewing Mrs. Wilson's last full-length novel, *A Speckled Bird* (Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*, August 23, 1902).

Some Pioneer Alabama Historians:

III. THOMAS M. OWEN

By WENDELL H. STEPHENSON

Of the Alabama historians under consideration, Thomas M. Owen was the only one without formal training in history.[64] Unlike George Petrie and Walter L. Fleming, both of whom acquired the doctorate and taught history at the college level, Owen held no academic position. Like so many of his contemporaries in state historical activity, he entered the guild by way of the law. He wrote and compiled Alabama history and bibliographies, he edited publications of the Alabama Historical Society and *The Gulf States Historical Magazine*, but his great work was as a pioneer in archival organization and administration.

64 Part I of this study, "George Petrie," appeared in *The Alabama Review*, I, 164-179 (July, 1948); Part II, "Walter L. Fleming," *ibid.*, 261-278 (October, 1948). Much of the correspondence used in the present paper was drawn from the Alabama Historical Society Papers (Manuscripts Division, State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery), and, beginning in 1901, from the Departmental Correspondence (*ibid.*). For the sake of convenience, all are cited as Owen Papers.

Owen's correspondence is a mine of information on a great variety of historical subjects. Among the historians with whom he corresponded were J. Franklin Jameson, Herbert B. Adams, Woodrow Wilson, Evarts B. Greene, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Reuben Gold Thwaites, Henry E. Bourne, Edward G. Bourne, Herman V. Ames, A. Howard Clark, Charles H. Haskins, James Ford Rhodes, George L. Beer, James M. Callahan, William A. Dunning, John S. Bassett, Ulrich B. Phillips, R. D. W. Connor, Alexander S. Salley, Jr., William K. Boyd, Walter L. Fleming, George Petrie, Franklin L. Riley, Dunbar Rowland, Peter J. Hamilton, William O. Scroggs, Frederick W. Moore, H. T. Quarles, Grace King, Joel C. DuBose, John W. DuBose, Alfred H. Stone, Allen D. Candler, Thomas C. McCorvey, Stephen B. Weeks, Lester G. Bugbee, and Robert A. Brock; among the librarians, William Beer, Wilberforce Eames, John S. Billings, James W. Cheney, J. P. McLean, Robert H. Kelby, Arnold J. F. van Lear, and C. B. Tillinghast. He also corresponded with Warren K. Moorehead, anthropologist, and Edwin R. A. Seligman, economist.

Born near Jonesboro on December 15, 1866, Owen attended Pleasant Hill Academy, taught by his uncle, Isaac W. McAdory.[65] The records of the University of Alabama, where he was a student from 1884 to 1887, show that he studied English, Latin, Greek, French, German, and chemistry, in all of which he excelled, but they do not indicate that he took history.[66] He graduated in 1887 with the A. B. and LL. B. degrees, and then practiced law at Bessemer, Carrollton, and Birmingham.

From 1894 to 1897 Owen served in Washington as chief clerk in the division of post office inspectors. This position had unusual significance in determining his subsequent career, for in the national capital he became acquainted with Colyer Meriwether and Stephen B. Weeks, both of whom had acquired the doctorate in history at the Johns Hopkins University, and also with Thomas Nelson Page. With these and other men Owen joined in forming the Southern History Association in 1896.[67] But the man who influenced him most in his transition from lawyer to historian was Dr. Ainsworth R. Spofford, librarian of Congress, who counseled the young Alabamian in his quest for historical knowledge. The clerkship in the Post Office Department became a means to an end, for Owen's leisure time was spent in the Library of Congress searching for materials on his section of the South and discussing historical sources with Spofford and other scholars who frequented the library.[68] This experience partly com-

65 For a brief sketch of Owen's career, see Thomas M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago, 1921), IV, 1310-1311.

66 Letter, William F. Adams, dean of admissions, University of Alabama, to the writer, March 30, 1948.

67 *Publications of the Southern History Association,* I, 1-11 (January, 1897). Owen served as the first treasurer of the Association.

68 R. D. W. Connor, "Dedication of the Archival Section of the Alabama World War Memorial Building," *The American Archivist,* IV, 78 (April, 1941).

pensated for lack of formal training in history; it provided many of the lessons others learned in graduate school.

Tangible results of Owen's labors in the Library of Congress were his compilations of "A Bibliography of Alabama" (1898) and "A Bibliography of Mississippi" (1900), each of which was published in an *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association. The Alabama bibliography, 472 pages in length, listed titles of books and pamphlets, newspaper and periodical sketches, articles appearing in transactions and other publications of learned societies, maps of Alabama, and "official documents." "It therefore embraces," the compiler wrote, "not only the historical and biographical works relating to the State, its institutions, and its public men, but it includes as well the intellectual product of the literary and business life of the State."[69] The Mississippi publication, similar in design, ran to 196 pages.[70]

Owen's first significant accomplishment after his return to his native state was a reorganization of the Alabama Historical Society. Founded in 1850, this association led a precarious existence during its first half century.[71] Quiescent during the years of war and Reconstruction, it was revived in 1874 only to fall again after a decade into peaceful oblivion.[72] For its rebirth in 1898, Owen was almost solely responsible. At a meeting of the Society, held at the University of Alabama, he was elected secretary, and immediately there was evidence that it had acquired a dynamic and energetic leader. He

69 *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1897* (Washington, 1898), p. 799.

70 *Ibid., 1899*, I (Washington, 1900).

71 *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society . . . July 14, 1851* (Tuscaloosa, 1852).

72 For the early history of the Society, see Allen J. Going, "Historical Societies in Alabama," *The Alabama Review*, I, 39-43 (January, 1948); Mitchell B. Garrett, "The Preservation of Alabama History," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, V, 4-7 (January, 1928).

carried on copious correspondence with Alabamians, promoted effective publicity, secured an annual appropriation to publish the Society's *Transactions,* and in general made the state history-conscious. To Colonel John W. A. Samford of Montgomery he wrote in 1898: "Interest is now general all over Alabama. The press will be active in our behalf. Our officials are not merely nominal, but they are doing all they can for the Society."[73] Perhaps they were more genuinely interested in the welfare of the organization than their predecessors had been for many years, but the fact remains, as Mitchell B. Garrett phrased it, that "the Secretary was to become, to all intents and purposes, the Society."[74]

During his first half dozen years as secretary,[75] Owen brought out four volumes of *Transactions.* It is no disparagement of his efforts to say that many of the articles he published were of doubtful value, for that fault was common to most of the state historical society publications of his day, and to some in our own. A generous sprinkling of papers that appeared in the Alabama series had real merit, and others served a useful purpose in stimulating interest in the Society. One could hardly expect, however, that all participants in annual meetings would present papers that actually contributed to knowledge. After reading the first volume of the *Transactions,* George W. Hamner of Washington, a native Alabamian who graduated in law at the University of Alabama and took a doctorate in history at Columbian University, wrote Owen a critical appraisal of the work. He was "delighted with it" despite its "typographical errors, which seem

[73] Letter, Thomas M. Owen to John W. A. Sanford, August 15, 1898, in Owen Papers.

[74] Garrett, *op. cit.,* V, 9 (January, 1928).

[75] The Alabama Historical Society really ceased to function after 1905. The last annual meeting was held in that year, "though it did not formally disband." Its work was gradually absorbed by the State Department of Archives and History. See Going, *op. cit.,* I, 45-46 (January, 1948).

to fill every book published in the State. . . . Mr. [Peter J.] Hamilton writes on ancient roads like a lazy South Alabamian writes for the newspapers, is not particular, exact or concise enough & adds little or nothing to what is already known of the Subject." Owen's work, Hamner thought, was "more creditable from a historical or a literary standpoint & shows a north Alabamian without a lazy bone in his body." General William F. Perry's "The Genesis of Public Education in Alabama" was "valuable," but it was "a pity he did not have more data to refresh his memory & give point & locality to his statements." Major Howell Tatum's "Topographical Notes and Observations on the Alabama River, August, 1814," edited by Hamilton and Owen, and Owen's "The Work of William Henry Fowler as Superintendent of Army Records, 1863-1865," were " 'the Stuff.' " The volume was, in Hamner's opinion, "a credit to the energy and enterprise of a native Alabamian."[76]

While Owen did not comprehend fully all the functions that an editor should perform, he took his responsibilities seriously and supplemented the work of contributors. He thought it his duty to annotate fully by appending "bibliographical, critical and illustrative notes and comments." The Society's members were, in a sense, "a body of students," and he would serve them as instructor. So, while "The text is the work of the contributor . . . *the notes are the work of the editor*"—except in the case of Hamilton, who did his own annotating.[77]

A radical change was noticeable in the third volume of the *Transactions,* which covered the period 1899-1903. The schol-

[76] Letter, George W. Hamner to Owen, August 8, 1899, in Owen Papers.

[77] *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society* (Tuscaloosa and Montgomery, 1898-1906), II, 6. There is no Volume I of this series of *Transactions,* and the four volumes (II to V) are referred to in the text of this article by their correct designations, first, second, third, and fourth.

arly activities of Petrie at Alabama Polytechnic Institute were bearing fruit. Petrie himself contributed two papers to this volume, "What Will Be the Final Estimate of Yancey?" and "William F. Samford, Statesman and Man of Letters."[78] Six more papers emanated from Petrie's seminar, and though most of them were clearly the product of immaturity, all demonstrate the constructive influence of trained historical scholarship. Outstanding in the group was Fleming's "The Buford Expedition to Kansas,"[79] an expansion of his study which had already appeared in *The American Historical Review*. Of Gaius Whitfield's "The French Grant in Alabama, A History of the Founding of Demopolis,"[80] Petrie had written Owen, "I consider it in some respects the best piece of historical work done here. It contains a number of extracts, laws, decrees etc. never before published."[81] Meritorious also were Toccoa Cozart's "Henry W. Hilliard," Shepherd H. Roberts' "Benjamin Fitzpatrick and the Vice-Presidency," Emma B. Culver's "Thomas Hill Watts, A Statesman of the old Regime," and J. E. D. Yonge's "The Conservative Party in Alabama, 1848-1860."[82] No longer was it necessary for the editor to document most of the studies he printed, for those from Petrie's "laboratory" had at least the outward appearance of scholarly paraphernalia.

Other Petrie students contributed to the fourth and last volume of *Transactions:* George W. Duncan, "John Archibald Campbell," William Watson Davis, "Ante-Bellum Southern Commercial Conventions," and Dallas T. Herndon, "The Nashville Convention of 1850."[83] About half of the

[78] *Ibid.*, IV, 307-312, 465-485.

[79] *Ibid.*, IV, 167-192.

[80] *Ibid.*, IV, 321-355.

[81] Letter, George Petrie to Owen, May 20, 1902, in Owen Papers.

[82] *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society*, IV, 277-299, 357-364, 415-439, 501-526.

[83] *Ibid.*, V, 107-151, 153-202, 203-237.

volume was contributed by men who had studied under Petrie.

The most valuable of the Society's *Publications* was Volume I, *Report of the Alabama History Commission to the Governor of Alabama,* issued in 1901. At the urgent solicitation of Owen, the legislature in 1898 passed an act providing for the appointment of a commission of five "to make a full, detailed and exhaustive examination of all the sources and materials, manuscript, documentary, and record of the history of Alabama from the earliest times, whether in domestic or foreign archives or repositories, or in private hands," and for the printing of the report at state expense.[84] The president of the Society, Joseph F. Johnston, designated as members of the Commission Owen, Peter J. Hamilton, Charles C. Thach, professor of English at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Samuel W. John, a member of the legislature, and William S. Wyman, professor of Latin at the University of Alabama.[85]

The work of the Commission was largely the work of its chairman. Between June, 1899, when three of the group assembled and adopted Owen's plan of organization, and December of the following year, the chairman with some help from other members collected a great mass of data which materialized in a volume of 447 pages. Part I surveyed "Manuscripts, Papers, and Documents Pertaining to Alabama" in foreign and federal offices and in the adjacent states of Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee; Part II gave an account of them in official Alabama repositories; Part III described Alabama materials in private possession; Part IV treated Alabama war records; and Part V surveyed aboriginal and Indian remains in the state. An

84 *Report of the Alabama History Commission* (Montgomery, 1901), I, 7-8. This volume was designated as *Publications of the Alabama Historical Society. Miscellaneous Collections.* Vol. I.

85 *Ibid.,* I, 13.

interesting chapter in Part III described the holdings of "Private Collectors and Students," which is particularly significant for its catalogue of the extensive holdings of Owen, whose library grew to considerable size before its destruction by fire in 1906. The whole inventory was a useful guide, though perhaps Part I on Alabama sources outside the state was least well done.[86]

The Commission's report was favorably received, beyond the limits of the state as well as in it. Fleming, then a graduate student at Columbia University, wrote that he had shown "the 'Blue Book' to Prof. Dunning. He thinks the Report a very valuable publication; and to the Southern History students it was a very pleasant surprise."[87] Franklin L. Riley, one of Herbert B. Adams' students who occupied the chair of history at the University of Mississippi and who served as secretary of the Mississippi Historical Society, wrote Owen after examining the report: "I do not hesitate to pronounce this the most important work your Society has ever done for the history of your State. It shows a wide range of research into every important phase of your history."[88]

But Owen was more interested in the impression made by the volume in Alabama, particularly on members of the legislature. The report recommended the establishment of a Department of Archives and History which would serve as custodian of the "official archives" of the state and assemble "a State library, museum and art gallery." Beyond "sentimental and patriotic considerations," the recommendations stressed the "practical benefit" to all Alabamians, for "the entire body of the State archives would be given the attention befitting their priceless value, and they would be arranged and so indexed as to be available for almost immediate con-

86 *Ibid., passim.*

87 Letter, Walter L. Fleming to Owen, October 8, 1901, in Owen Papers.

88 Letter, Franklin L. Riley to Owen, April 16, 1901, *ibid.*

sultation by all interested parties." The department would also establish "a great reference historical library," it would assemble "the surviving letters and papers of our public men" as well as museum pieces and pictures, and it would collect and house the military records of Alabamians. Provision should also be made for the publication of state papers, the periodical compilation of an official register, and the marking of historic sites.[89]

The legislature responded favorably and passed a measure approved on February 27, 1901, creating a State Department of Archives and History, which began to function on March 2 with Owen as director. The legislature appropriated $2,500 to finance the new agency,[90] and the governor designated the Senate cloakroom to house it. How Owen assembled records and expanded his quarters was ably if facetiously told in 1940 by R. D. W. Connor in an address dedicating the new home of the Department: "His first drive was upon heads of executive and administrative departments to persuade them to transfer their noncurrent records to the archives department. From all sorts of sources he collected manuscripts, books, newspapers, museum objects, and portraits of famous Alabamians. Soon the senate cloakroom was bursting with Owen's collections and legislators were beginning to fear that unless they gave him more space, he would take over the halls of legislation and perhaps the offices of the governor and other officials. You may think this statement somewhat exaggerated, but how else, by any accepted canon of historical interpretation, can you explain the fact that in 1903 the alarmed

89 *Report of the Alabama History Commission*, I, 36-44.

90 For the text of the act, see *The Establishment, Organization, Activities and Aspirations of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Alabama*, in Department of Archives and History *Bulletin*, No. 1 (Montgomery, 1904), pp. 2-6; *Laws Governing the Department of Archives and History, ibid.*, No. 4 (Montgomery, 1907), pp. 5-9. The director's salary was fixed at $1,800 and maintenance at $700.

lawmakers were induced to appropriate $150,000 for the enlargement of the capitol? Upon the completion of the first of the new wings, Dr. Owen immediately moved in, and with characteristic self-restraint took over *only* one-half of the basement for his archives and one-half of the second floor for his other activities. Doubtless grateful officials of the government were duly appreciative of his consideration in leaving the other half of the wing for the use of some half-dozen other departments. But the end was not yet. Within a decade the stream of material which continued to flow into the Department of Archives and History burst forth from its narrow confines in the capitol and overflowed into five buildings which then stood on the block now occupied by this building in which we are assembled."[91]

In the same dedicatory address Connor stated succinctly the importance of Owen's contribution to the preservation of historical records: "The Alabama department . . . was the first archival agency established in the United States as an official organ of a government. The full significance of this fact becomes apparent when we recall that today the federal government and nearly every state in the Union have followed the example thus set by the state of Alabama."[92] Owen's correspondence yields tangible evidence of an immediate realization that his new departure was worthy of emulation. Letters of inquiry poured into his Montgomery office, and invariably they brought courteous and helpful answers. A year after the establishment of the Alabama department, the Mississippi legislature copied the Alabama act almost verbatim. North and South Carolina soon modeled their historical commissions on the Alabama pattern. In Virginia and Tennessee efforts were made to follow Alabama's example, but without much

[91] Connor, *op. cit.*, IV, 80-81 (April, 1941).
[92] *Ibid.*, IV, 77 (April, 1941).

success.[93] After Fleming transferred to Baton Rouge in 1907, he hoped to establish a department in Louisiana similar to Alabama's. He soon learned, however, that the Louisiana Historical Society would oppose such a project. In fact, Professor John R. Ficklin of Tulane University had, somewhat earlier, investigated the possibility of establishing a Department of Archives and History, but "he was so certain of opposition from La. Hist. Soc. (a wretched mess) that he never acted."[94]

Owen was justifiably proud of Alabama's accomplishment, and he insisted upon recognition of his state's priority when other commonwealths followed the Alabama pattern. Writing to William K. Boyd of Trinity College about the time the North Carolina department was established,[95] Owen requested "that you give our State credit for being *the pioneer* in this *specific* form of institutional activity. We are not in competition with other States in the matter of development. I have on all occasions shown a willingness and desire to help others in the projection and development of plans, and in the solution of their problems. What we are proud of, is, however, the fact that Alabama is *the first* of all the States to undertake to

[93] Letter, Owen to William K. Boyd, November 22, 1907, in William K. Boyd Correspondence (Manuscripts Department, Duke University, Durham).

[94] Letter, Fleming to Owen, December 18, 1907, in Owen Papers.

[95] Connor, *op. cit.*, IV, 82 (April, 1941), stated that after his appointment as secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission he "jumped the first train" for Montgomery to consult with Owen who "greeted me with all the kindness of an older brother. I found him installed in his cramped quarters in the capitol, literally lost to view behind great mountains of disorderly masses of documents, which had been piling up on him so rapidly and in such volume as would have discouraged a less determined man. As you can well imagine, there was little I could learn from this situation about archival organization, arrangement, classification, or cataloguing. . . . Nevertheless, my visit to him was one of the most profitable experiences of my life. It was not what he had done, nor what he said that dwells with me today; it was what he was. He was energy, he was enthusiasm, he was courage, he was vision, he was faith, he was inspiration, and when I reluctantly bade him good-bye I knew in my heart that some day he would build here in Montgomery one of the great archival institutions of our country."

care for and to meet the duty of the commonwealth both to the care of archives and its historical interests, through *a separate Department* of State, ranking in dignity with other State Departments."[96]

The success of Owen's experiment in state-supported archives brought immediate recognition within the South; the meeting of the American Historical Association jointly with the American Economic Association in a southern city in 1903 provided opportunity for scholars outside the region to recognize his statesmanlike undertaking. Southern historians had been attempting since the turn of the century to persuade the national organization to encourage historical activity south of the Potomac by assembling on southern soil; and the appropriateness of commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the Purchase of Louisiana by meeting in New Orleans assured the desired result.

The prospect of attending a meeting in "America's most interesting city" and of vacationing in the South appealed to scholars in the East and West, and arrangements were made for special trains from New York and Chicago. The New York special planned brief stopovers in Richmond, Atlanta, Montgomery, and Mobile, and Owen corresponded with Edwin R. A. Seligman, president of the American Economic Association, relative to entertainment in the first capital of the Confederacy. The party would arrive in Montgomery on December 27, and Seligman requested that Owen "arrange to have the old capitol open and lighted up for us."[97] After returning to New York, Dunning reported to Fleming, who had not attended the meeting, that "your enterprising friend, Owen, at Montgomery, made a particularly good impression

[96] Letter, Owen to Boyd, November 22, 1907, in Boyd Correspondence.

[97] Letter, Edwin R. A. Seligman to Owen, December 9, 1903, in Owen Papers. See also letter, Owen to Seligman, October 15, 1903, *ibid.*

for himself; he treated us royally well. When the train stopped there at 9:30 in the evening, the historic old state house was very impressively and entertainingly exhibited by him, and his whole spirit, both there and at New Orleans, won him a host of friends in the Association and at the same time, I think won for the Association a very earnest friend in him."[98] And to John S. Bassett, kept away by illness, Dunning wrote that the travelers "were exceedingly pleased at the energy and thoughtfulness manifested in connection with out advent. Owen made a very favorable impression on everybody."[99]

Sundry letters of appreciation came directly to Owen after historians had returned to their homes. James Ford Rhodes recalled that "The History and Economic people have not yet got over talking of your speech in the moonlight on the Capitol,"[100] and George L. Beer wrote Owen that "The memory of the Southern trip is a joy to all of us, and we shall not soon, believe me, forget that moonlight night in Montgomery and the guide who made the noble old city's past so charmingly alive for us."[101]

Despite the energetic effort of southerners to promote attendance, only twenty-one members from the South registered for the meeting—the same number that came from far-away Massachusetts. Two of the sessions had a southern theme: one of them consisted of papers relating to the Louisiana Purchase; the other, arranged by Dunning, considered "The Study and Teaching of History in the South," with brief papers by seven southerners—William E. Dodd of Randolph-Macon College, Alcée Fortier of Tulane University, Lillian

98 Excerpt from a letter, William A. Dunning to Fleming, February ?, 1904, *ibid.*

99 Letter, Dunning to John S. Bassett, January 6, 1904, in John S. Bassett Correspondence (in possession of Mrs. J. S. Bassett, Northhampton, Mass.)

100 Letter, James Ford Rhodes to Owen, March 10, 1904, in Owen Papers.

101 Letter, George L. Beer to Owen, February 20, 1904, *ibid.*

W. Johnston of Nashville, Tennessee, Frederick W. Moore of Vanderbilt University, David Y. Thomas of the University of Arkansas, Franklin L. Riley of the University of Mississippi, and Owen. The last responded to Dunning's invitation by proposing a paper on "State Supported Historical Work in the South," a subject which seemed appropriate to the chairman of the committee.[102] Dunning's conference was well attended despite a paucity of members from the South, and, if letters from contemporaries may be believed, it was decidedly successful. Owen, so the report of the annual meeting recorded, discussed southern state aid in collecting, preserving, and publishing historical records. "Scarcely any States in the Union," he said, "are doing as much as are Alabama and Mississippi, where the State governments have established departments charged with the task of gathering and preserving valuable historical papers." Other states of the South were miserly in promoting historical activity. "In Texas a small appropriation has been made for the classification and translation of early Texas manuscripts, while the Texas Historical Association [*sic*], without material financial encouragement from the State, has been courageously undertaking the enormous task of bringing together the old records and miscellaneous papers bearing on the early history of the Southwest."[103]

The favorable impression which Owen made at the New Orleans meeting of the Association prompted an invitation to appear on the program at the Chicago meeting the next year. Addressing a round table conference "On the Problems of State and Local Historical Societies," he described the organ-

[102] Letters, Dunning to Owen, March 9, 20, 1903; Owen to Dunning, March 12, 23, 1903, *ibid.*

[103] Charles H. Haskins, "Report of the Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1903* (Washington, 1904), I, 27. See also *American Historical Review*, IX, 444 (April, 1904).

ization of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, stressed the obligation of the state to preserve its records, and pointed to the necessity of placing them in charge of some one who appreciated their significance. In the past the responsibility had been assumed by state historical societies, but experience had shown that such organizations were "unable to care for the public records." Alabama's Society had "decided to surrender to the State the task of collecting manuscripts, and to content itself with holding meetings, publishing material, and stimulating interest in history."[104]

Owen had already performed another function for the Association. At the request of Herman V. Ames, chairman of the Public Archives Commission, he prepared a report on "Alabama Archives" for publication in the Association's *Annual Report*.[105] In his introduction Owen said that a "result of the establishment of the Department has been to dignify the hitherto neglected accumulations of old papers, denominated by many as so much worthless trash and rubbish."[106] He organized his report into five parts: state archives, county records, municipal records, records of federal offices in Alabama, and miscellaneous items.[107] The report was not wholly a new piece of work: the compiler rearranged and brought down to date the data he had previously assembled for the *Report of the Alabama History Commission.*

Further recognition came to Owen from the historical guild. In 1905 he succeeded George P. Garrison as a member of the American Historical Association's Historical Manuscripts

104 Charles H. Haskins, "Report of the Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1904* (Washington, 1905), p. 24; Thomas M. Owen, "State Departments of Archives and History," *ibid.*, pp. 237-257.

105 See Letters, Owen to Herman V. Ames, February 1, 1904; March 8, 1905, in Owen Papars.

106 Thomas M. Owen (comp.), "Alabama Archives," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1904*, p. 488.

107 *Ibid.*, pp. 487-553.

Commission.[108] He was one of the pioneers in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and served as its second president, 1907-1908.[109]

During Owen's busy years in establishing the Department of Archives and History and in continuing the work of the Alabama Historical Society, he embarked upon another editorial project. In 1902 he and Joel C. DuBose, principal of DuBose's school for boys in Birmingham and writer of Alabama history on occasion, inaugurated *The Gulf States Historical Magazine*.[110] Owen served as editor and DuBose as business manager of this bi-monthly journal concerned with the history of states from Florida to Texas. After a year Owen abandoned the magazine because of heavy duties in the Department, and DuBose carried on a second year as editor, at the end of which publication was discontinued largely because the magazine could not pay its way. Without subsidy or society behind it, the fate of the periodical had been determined at its inception.

During its brief existence, the magazine served as a medium for some scholarly studies as well as a vehicle for considerable trivia. Of the former, Fleming contributed some segments of his incipient dissertation on Alabama in Civil War and Reconstruction: "The Churches of Alabama during the Civil War and Reconstruction," "The Formation of the Union League in Alabama," "The Ku Klux Testimony Relating to Alabama," and "Conscription and Exemption in Alabama during the Civil War."[111] Ulrich B. Phillips published two

[108] Letters, Charles H. Haskins to Owen, January 12, 1905, in Owen Papers; Owen to Haskins, January 18, 1905, in American Historical Association Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress); *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1904*, p. 54.

[109] *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the Year 1907-1908* (Cedar Rapids, 1909), I, 15, 27.

[110] For notice of its inception, see *The Sewanee Review*, X, 509-510 (October, 1902).

[111] *The Gulf States Historical Magazine*, I, 105-127 (September, 1902); II, 73-89 (September, 1903), 155-160 (November, 1903), 310-325 (March-May, 1904).

unimportant papers in the journal: "Early Railroads in Alabama" and "Historical Notes on Milledgeville, Ga."[112] "Alabama and Territorial Expansion before 1860" was contributed by William O. Scroggs, and "The Diplomatic Struggle for the Mississippi River and the Southwestern Boundary" by David Y. Thomas.[113] Owen himself compiled several pieces for the magazine: "Colonel Edward Lacey of the Revolution and Some of His Descendants," "The Fisher Family," "The Ross Family," "An Alabama Protest Against Abolitionism in 1835," "Emma Sansom, An Alabama Heroine,"[114] and some lists of newspapers in various depositories.

As a productive historian Owen was a compiler and editor rather than a writer of history. His Alabama and Mississippi bibliographies, the *Report of the Alabama History Commission,* and the survey of "Alabama Archives" demonstrated considerable ability in inventorying records. His posthumous publication, a four-volume *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography,* was encyclopedic in nature and served as an indispensable reference work. Of several brief articles, five were genealogical,[115] three were biographical,[116] one was anthropological,[117] but the most im-

112 *Ibid.,* I, 345-347 (March, 1903); II, 161-171 (November, 1903).

113 *Ibid.,* II, 172-185 (November, 1903), 343-363 (March-May, 1904).

114 *Ibid.,* I, 41-44 (July, 1902), 134-138 (September, 1902), 207-211 (November, 1902); II, 26-34 (July, 1903), 364-371 (March-May, 1904).

115 "Bryant Lester, of Lunenburg Co., Va., and His Descendants," in *Publications of the Southern History Association,* I, 127-137 (April, 1897); "William Strother, of Virginia, and His Descendants," *ibid.,* II, 149-173 (April, 1898); *A Genealogy of the Kelly Family* (Carrollton, Ala., 1900); *A Genealogy of the Lacey Family* (Carrollton, 1900); *A Genealogy of the Stansel Family* (Carrollton, 1900).

116 "Dr. Basil Manly, The Founder of the Alabama Historical Society," in *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society,* IV, 125-140; "Emma Sansom, An Alabama Heroine," in *The Gulf States Historical Magazine,* II, 364-371 (March-May, 1904); "Colonel William Eaton, of Granville County, North Carolina," in *Davidson College Magazine,* XVI, 14-19 (1899).

117 "Notes on Alabama Mounds and Antiquities." in *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society,* IV, 235-241.

portant of the group was the paper he read at the Chicago meeting of the American Historical Association in 1904, "State Departments of Archives and History."[118] Owen also edited five departmental *Bulletins,* three of which he compiled,[119] and he issued sundry other publications under the imprints of the Society and the Department.

Owen's compilations and edited works represent a creditable performance in value and volume, but they are secondary to his monumental work, the establishment of the first archival organization as a state agency. Had he accomplished nothing else in the quarter century prior to his death in 1920, this alone would place the historical guild under deep obligation.

[118] *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1904,* pp. 237-257.

[119] *The Establishment, Organization, Activities and Aspirations of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Alabama,* Department of Archives and History, *Bulletin* No. 1 (Montgomery, 1904); *Check List of Newspaper and Periodical Files in the Department of Archives and History of the State of Alabama, ibid.,* No. 3 (Montgomery, 1904); *Revolutionary Soldiers in Alabama, ibid.,* No. 5 (Montgomery, 1911).

Notes And Documents

Presidential Election Returns and Related Data For Ante-bellum Alabama

Edited by clanton w. williams

The following tables are a continuation (and conclusion) of the presentation begun in the October, 1948 issue of this publication.

Here certain additional types of related data for 1850 and 1860 are presented. For convenience these have been placed in the tables for 1852, 1856, and 1860.

Most of these figures may be accepted as accurate; but those having to do with "Estimated Eligible Voters" are subject to reservations set forth on pages 281-283 of the October issue. In an effort to arrive at figures approaching accuracy additional facts were needed for the years here presented.

Particularly questioned was the earlier statement (p. 283) that "in the older, wealthier counties the average age as a rule was higher than in the newer, and the average number of children was smaller." It now appears that for the latter half of the ante-bellum period that holding must be qualified. Indeed, each county must be treated separately for it is not true in a number of cases. This is especially noted in studying the vital statistics of those counties which contained growing towns and in those which received a heavy influx of young people on the westward move in the late 1840's and early 1850's.

Appreciation here is expressed to Mr. Foster A. Haley, a graduate student at the University of Alabama, for valuable assistance. The tabulations on average ages presented in the 1856 table are his contribution entirely.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1844

	Polk & Wright (Democrat)	Clay & Frelinghuysen (Whig)	Total Vote	Est. Eligible 1844 Voters	Est. Turnout Percentage	Democrat Majority	Whig Majority	Total 1840 Population	1840 Slave Population	Slavery Rank, 1840	Whiggery Rank, 1844	Democracy Rank, 1844	Rank in Interest
1. Autauga	633	475	1,108	1,301	85.17	57.13		14,343	8,109	8		25	19
2. Baldwin	120	149	269	521	51.63		55.49	2,951	1,707	7	6		47
3. Barbour	860	1,113	1,973	2,061	95.73		56.41	12,024	5,548	19	5		6
4. Benton	1,382	373	1,755	2,388	73.49	78.75		14,260	2,894	36		7	40
5. Bibb	596	450	1,046	1,261	82.95	56.98		8,284	2,023	33		26	23
6. Blount	774	84	858	998	85.97	90.21		5,570	344	47		3	17
7. Butler	(No	Returns)		(1,208)				8,685	2,470	31			
8. Chambers	936	1,158	2,094	2,147	97.53		55.30	17,304	7,141	23	7		1
9. Cherokee	935	356	1,291	1,639	78.77	72.42		8,773	1,112	42		12	29
10. Clark	631	232	863	923	93.50	73.12		8,640	4,395	14		11	8
11. Coffee	315	142	457	761	60.05	70.47		Part of Dale				16	46
12. Conecuh	277	421	698	906	77.04		60.32	8,197	3,817	17	3		34
13. Coosa	796	400	1,196	1,523	78.53	66.56		6,995	2,125	30		20	30
14. Covington	139	148	287	409	70.17		51.57	2,435	371	39	14		44
15. Dale	616	210	826	1,368	60.39	74.58		7,397	580	46		10	45
16. Dallas	722	864	1,586	1,943	81.63		54.51	25,199	17,208	3	9		24
17. DeKalb	700	207	907	1,176	77.13	77.18		5,929	340	48		8	33
18. Fayette	796	153	949	1,202	78.95	83.88		6,942	981	40		6	28
19. Franklin	983	465	1,448	1,887	76.74	67.89		14,270	6,005	22		18	35
20. Greene	819	1,090	1,909	2,024	94.32		57.10	24,024	16,431	2	4		7
21. Henry	546	367	913	1,009	90.49	59.80		5,787	1,084	38		23	10
22. Jackson	1,751	87	1,838	2,543	72.28	95.27		15,715	1,816	42		1	42

23. Jefferson	585	265	850	1,139	74.63	68.82		7,131	1,636	34		17	38
24. Lauderdale	919	474	1,393	1,844	75.54	65.97		14,485	4,969	26		21	37
25. Lawrence	783	469	1,252	1,398	89.56	62.54		13,313	6,145	18		22	13
26. Limestone	965	325	1,290	1,519	84.92	74.81		14,374	6,840	16		9	21
27. Lowndes	678	710	1,388	1,585	87.57		51.15	19,536	12,569	4	15		14
28. Macon	626	1,087	1,713	1,783	96.07		60.96	11,247	5,851	12	2		5
29. Madison	720	357	1,077	2,424	44.43	66.85		25,706	13,265	13		19	49
30. Marengo	634	726	1,360	1,415	96.11		53.38	17,264	11,902	1	11		4
31. Marion	638	120	758	909	83.39	84.17		5,847	753	41		5	22
32. Marshall	875	162	1,037	1,277	81.21	84.38		7,553	841	44		4	25
33. Mobile	1,347	1,403	2,750	6,179	44.51		51.02	18,741	6,191	27	16		48
34. Monroe	359	567	926	1,146	80.80		61.23	24,574	15,486	5	1		26
35. Montgomery	836	1,016	1,852	2,176	85.11		54.86	10,680	5,292	15	8		20
36. Morgan	682	271	953	1,278	74.57	71.56		9,841	3,216	28		15	39
37. Perry	850	869	1,719	1,788	96.14		50.55	19,086	10,343	9	18		3
38. Pickens	967	892	1,859	2,030	91.58	52.02		17,118	7,764	21		28	9
39. Pike	768	862	1,630	1,896	85.97		52.88	10,108	2,111	35	12		18
40. Randolph	746	290	1,036	1,460	70.96	72.01		4,973	526	45		14	43
41. Russell	624	736	1,360	1,514	89.83		54.12	13,513	7,266	10	10		12
42. St. Clair	644	46	690	900	76.67	93.33		5,638	1,125	37		2	36
43. Shelby	472	511	983	1,089	90.27		51.98	6,112	1,616	32	13		11
44. Sumter	1,061	927	1,988	2,722	73.04	53.37		29,937	15,920	11		27	41
45. Talladega	851	633	1,484	1,888	78.60	57.35		12,587	4,898	25		24	31
46. Tallapoosa	706	728	1,434	1,641	87.39		50.77	6,444	2,013	29	17		15
47. Tuscaloosa	964	902	1,866	2,142	87.11	51.66		16,583	6,554	24		30	16
48. Walker	442	170	612	797	77.86	72.22		4,032	211	49		13	32
49. Washington	279	273	552	686	80.47	50.54		5,300	2,434	20		31	27
50. Wilcox	630	585	1,215	1,263	96.20	51.85		15,278	9,294	6		29	2
TOTALS	35,978	25,320	61,298	77,627	78.96	58.69		590,756	253,532				16+

The Democratic electors were: Richard B. Walthall, David Hubbard, Thomas Mays, Dixon Hall, John Winston, Jeremiah Clemens, John Nooe, William B. Martin, and William R. Hallett.

The Whig electors were: Nicholas Davis, James Abercrombie, James Childers, Joseph Hutchinson, William Phillips, William Murphy, William Cooper, George Burnie, and Charles McLemore.

Note faulty addition in published 1840 U. S. Census; e.g. Chambers County.

	Cass & Butler (Democrat)	Taylor & Fillmore (Whig)	Total Vote	Est. Eligible Voters	Est. Turnout Percentage	Democrat Majority	Whig Majority	Total 1850 Population	1850 Slave Population	Slavery Rank, 1850	Whiggery Rank, 1848	Democracy Rank, 1848	Rank in Interest
1. Autauga	471	553	1,024	1,261	81.21		54.00	15,023	8,730	11	15		8
2. Baldwin	(No returns)			(627)				4,414	2,218	15			
3. Barbour	(No returns)			(2,426)				23,632	10,780	20			
4. Benton	(No returns)			(2,421)				17,163	3,763	38			
5. Bibb	416	474	890	1,279	69.58		53.26	9,969	2,861	31	16		25
6. Blount	526	134	660	1,073	61.49	79.70		7,367	426	50		2	31
7. Butler	(No returns)			(1,233)				10,836	3,639	30			
8. Chambers	689	1,323	2,012	2,464	81.66		65.76	23,960	11,158	19	4		7
9. Cherokee	921	630	1,551	2,210	70.18	59.38		13,884	1,691	43		13	23
10. Choctaw	278	373	651	940	69.26		57.30	8,389	3,769	21	13		26
11. Clarke	327	120	447	941	47.50	73.15		9,786	4,876	16		7	37
12. Coffee	174	192	366	976	37.50		52.46	5,940	557	47	18		38
13. Conecuh	(No returns)			(915)				9,322	4,394	23			
14. Coosa	883	626	1,509	1,953	77.27	58.52		14,543	4,120	32		14	15
15. Covington	51	248	299	499	59.92		81.85	3,645	480	41	1		32
16. Dale	555	368	923	1,565	58.98	60.06		6,382	757	44		12	34
17. Dallas	618	860	1,478	1,831	80.72		58.19	29,727	22,258	1	11		10
18. DeKalb	650	257	907	1,299	69.82	71.66		8,245	506	49		8	24
19. Fayette	841	277	1,118	1,388	80.55	75.56		9,681	1,221	42		3	11
20. Franklin	(No returns)			(2,067)				19,619	8,197	24			
21. Greene	(No returns)			(2,106)				31,441	22,127	3			
22. Hancock	(No returns)			(258)				1,542	62	52			
23. Henry	(No returns)			(1,114)				9,019	2,242	36			

24. Jackson	1,589	136	1,725	2,592	66.55	92.12		14,088	2,292	40		1	27
25. Jefferson	385	288	673	1,191	56.51	57.21		8,989	2,267	34		15	35
26. Lauderdale	772	695	1,467	1,977	74.20	52.62		17,172	6,015	27		17	18
27. Lawrence	656	663	1,319	1,630	80.92		50.27	15,258	6,852	22	22		9
28. Limestone	833	374	1,207	1,530	78.84	69.01		16,483	8,063	18		9	14
29. Lowndes	434	761	1,195	1,553	76.95		63.68	21,915	14,649	5	6		17
30. Macon	532	1,463	1,995	2,102	94.91		73.35	26,898	15,596	9	2		2
31. Madison	1,385	465	1,850	2,399	77.12	74.86		26,427	14,326	13		4	16
32. Maregno	(No returns)			(1,462)				27,831	20,693	2			
33. Marion	(No returns)			(1,010)				7,833	908	45			
34. Marshall	708	246	954	1,318	72.38	74.21		8,846	868	46		6	21
35. Mobile	1,073	1,319	2,392	6,167	38.79		55.14	27,600	9,356	29	14		39
36. Monroe	216	479	695	1,126	61.72		68.92	12,013	6,325	14	3		30
37. Montgomery	669	1,176	1,845	2,252	81.93		63.74	29,711	19,427	7	5		6
38. Morgan	(No returns)			(1,274)				10,125	3,437	28			
39. Perry	(No returns)			(1,694)				22,285	13,917	8			
40. Pickens	931	1,044	1,975	2,085	94.72		52.86	21,512	10,534	17	17		4
41. Pike	633	935	1,568	2,153	72.83		59.63	15,920	3,794	37	9		20
42. Randolph	770	461	1,231	2,383	51.66	62.55		11,581	936	48		10	36
43. Russell	577	970	1,547	1,633	94.73		62.70	19,548	11,111	10	7		3
44. St. Clair	456	156	612	938	65.25	74.51		6,829	1,321	39		5	28
45. Shelby	368	557	925	1,258	73.53		60.22	9,536	2,376	35	8		19
46. Sumter	771	820	1,591	2,685	59.26		51.54	22,250	14,831	6	19		33
47. Talladega	820	869	1,689	2,139	78.98		51.45	18,624	6,971	26	20		12
48. Tallapoosa	920	972	1,892	2,033	93.06		51.37	15,584	4,073	33	21		5
49. Tuscaloosa	694	976	1,670	2,117	78.89		58.44	18,056	7,477	25	10		13
50. Walker	383	231	614	847	70.25	62.38		5,124	266	51		11	22
51. Washington	85	72	157	246	63.82	54.14		2,713	1,496	12		16	29
52. Wilcox	479	639	1,118	1,136	98.42		57.16	17,352	11,835	4	12		1
Sub Totals	24,539	23,202	47,741	67,159	71.09								
Alabama	31,330	30,515	61,845	85,766	72.11	50.66		771,623	342,844				

The Democratic electors were: Nathaniel Terry, Richard B. Walthall, T. B. Bethea, John Cochran, A. B. Moore, James Beckett, L. P. Walker, D. C. Humphries, and A. J. Walker.

The Whig electors were: G. W. Lane, Thomas Watts, D. C. Anderson (or Andrews), Joseph Pugh, Thomas Judge, W. H. Murphy, E. D. Townes, A. C. Beard (or Baird), and Samuel Rice.

	Scott & Graham (Whig)	Pierce & King (Democrat)	Troup & Quitman	Total Vote	Estimated Eligible Voters	Turnout Percentage	Whig Percentage	Democratic Percentage	Troup & Quitman Percentage	1850 Slave Percentage	1850 Slavery Rank	Average Acreage Per Family—1850	Acreage Rank
1. Autauga	187	322	205	714	1,383	51.62	26.19	45.10	28.71	55.88	11	248.70	12
2. Baldwin	62	72		134	651	20.58	46.27	53.73		50.29	15	-116.74	36
3. Barbour	298	309	570	1,177	2,726	43.16	25.32	26.25	48.43	45.62	20	158.16	25
4. Benton	74	918		992	2,535	39.13	7.46	92.54		21.93	38	94.25	43
5. Bibb	238	346	3	587	1,303	45.05	40.55	58.94	.51	28.70	31	158.85	24
6. Blount	55	422		477	1,364	34.97	11.53	88.47		5.78	50	62.87	48
7. Butler	(No returns)				1,610					33.58	30	123.37	33
8. Chambers	668	616	21	1,305	2,429	53.73	51.19	47.20	1.61	46.57	19	185.47	19
9. Cherokee	242	735		977	2,292	42.63	24.77	75.23		12.18	43	98.98	42
10. Choctaw	227	335	2	564	1,114	50.63	40.25	59.40	.35	44.93	21	225.90	14
11. Clarke	100	480	19	599	1,182	50.68	16.70	80.13	3.17	49.83	16	241.76	13
12. Coffee	113	239	18	370	1,178	31.41	30.54	64.60	4.86	9.37	47	68.59	46
13. Conecuh	216	287	15	518	1,038	49.90	41.71	55.40	2.89	43.94	23	176.73	21
14. Coosa	294	709	42	1,045	2,303	45.38	28.13	67.85	4.02	28.33	32	132.70	30
15. Covington	52	117		169	710	23.80	30.77	69.23		13.17	41	53.88	49
16. Dale	162	407	31	600	1,734	34.60	27.00	67.83	5.17	11.86	44	109.82	39
17. Dallas	386	440	244	1,070	1,870	57.22	36.07	41.13	22.80	74.87	1	420.06	1
18. DeKalb	139	501		640	1,466	43.66	21.72	78.28		6.14	49	63.15	47
19. Fayette	81	516		597	1,739	34.33	13.57	86.43		12.61	42	104.00	40
20. Franklin	462	993	5	1,460	2,338	62.45	31.64	68.02	.34	41.80	24	205.54	16
21. Greene	694	557	10	1,261	2,109	59.79	55.04	44.17	.79	70.38	3	304.47	4
22. Hancock	9	65		74	332	22.29	12.16	87.84		4.02	52	48.16	50
23. Henry	94	184	140	418	1,514	27.61	22.49	44.02	33.49	24.86	36	118.69	35
24. Jackson	83	1,154		1,237	2,386	51.84	6.71	93.29		16.27	40	116.01	37

25. Jefferson	114	339		453	1,381	32.80	25.16	74.84		25.22	34	120.38	34
26. Lauderdale	441	803		1,244	2,134	58.29	35.45	64.55		35.17	27	126.98	32
27. Lawrence	512	588	5	1,105	1,684	65.62	46.33	53.22	.45	44.91	22	189.54	18
28. Limestone	227	662		889	1,525	58.30	25.53	74.47		48.93	18	161.10	22
29. Lowndes	126	186	206	518	1,682	30.80	24.32	35.91	39.77	66.85	5	296.90	5
30. Macon	772	658	99	1,529	2,407	63.52	50.50	43.03	6.47	57.98	9	257.80	8
31. Madison	354	1,300		1,654	2,366	69.91	21.40	78.60		54.21	13	160.73	23
32. Marengo	450	526	20	996	1,520	65.53	45.18	52.81	2.01	74.36	2	310.90	3
33. Marion	118	467		585	1,399	41.82	20.17	79.83		11.59	45	101.03	41
34. Marshall	111	568		679	1,568	43.30	16.35	83.65		9.81	46	46.57	51
35. Mobile	1,123	1,380	94	2,597	6,631	39.16	43.24	53.14	3.62	33.90	29	13.47	52
36. Monroe	270	260	45	575	1,284	44.78	46.95	45.22	7.83	52.65	14	257.42	9
37. Montgomery	717	557	91	1,365	2,531	53.93	52.53	40.80	6.67	65.39	7	252.25	10
38. Morgan	208	482		690	1,336	51.65	30.14	69.86		33.95	28	151.22	26
39. Perry	278	512	13	803	1,836	43.74	34.62	63.76	1.62	62.45	8	271.65	6
40. Pickens	568	752		1,320	2,133	61.88	43.03	56.97		48.97	17	196.46	17
41. Pike	379	703	71	1,153	2,550	45.22	32.87	60.97	6.16	23.83	37	131.10	31
42. Randolph	90	707	3	800	2,780	28.78	11.25	88.37	.38	8.08	48	80.38	45
43. Russell	434	522	24	980	1,840	53.26	44.29	53.27	2.44	56.84	10	264.21	7
44. St. Clair	44	455		499	1,188	42.00	8.82	91.18		19.34	39	109.87	38
45. Shelby	317	315		632	1,471	42.96	50.16	49.84		24.92	35	135.17	28
46. Sumter	482	499	4	985	1,867	52.76	48.93	50.66	.41	66.65	6	249.53	11
47. Talladega	372	672	4	1,048	2,459	42.62	35.50	64.12	.38	37.43	26	146.64	27
48. Tallapoosa	351	845	19	1,215	2,585	47.00	28.89	69.55	1.56	26.14	33	133.12	29
49. Tuscaloosa	527	475	3	1,005	2,344	42.88	52.44	47.26	.30	41.41	25	177.34	20
50. Walker	54	217		271	1,022	26.52	19.93	80.07		5.19	51	81.02	44
51. Washington	52	65	2	119	316	37.66	43.70	54.62	1.68	55.14	12	217.98	15
52. Wilcox	286	398	147	831	1,329	62.53	34.42	47.89	17.69	68.21	4	383.13	2
TOTALS	14,713	26,637	2,175	43,525	92,864	46.87	33.80	61.20	5.00	44.43	22+	164.50	

The Whig electors were: Arthur Hopkins, Henry W. Hilliard, A. R. Manning, William B. Moss, S. S. Storrs, Daniel P. Bestor, M. Davis, T. Bibb Bradley, and Charles McLemore.

The Democrat electors were: John Winston, James Sanders, Francis Lyon, John Seibles, Columbus Lee, Lewis M. Stone, James Armstrong, Clement C. Clay, and James F. Dowdell.

The Troup-Quitman electors were: I. I. DeYampert, P. I. Sayer, Morgan Smith, J. M. Gilmer, F. B. Sheppard, Jefferson Buford, I. W. Gayle, Thomas Williams, and S. D. Moore.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1856

	Fillmore & Donelson (Whig)	Buchanan & Breckinridge (Democrat)	Total Vote	Estimated Eligible Voters	Turnout Percentage	Majority	Ave. Age of Those 20 Years & Over, 1850	Ave. Age of Those 20 Years & Over, 1860	Per Capita Wealth of Whites, 1860	Rank in Wealth	Average 1860 Family	Per cent Change in White Pop., 1840-50	Per cent Change in White Pop., 1850-60
1. Autauga	476	622	1,098	1,441	76.20	D56.65	37.50	37.85	$2,318.79	11	5.59	+ .92	+ 13.45
2. Baldwin	219	144	363	676	53.70	W60.32	38.17	39.41	1,787.50	17	5.84	+ 80.88	+ 75.05
3. Barbour	857	1,444	2,301	2,929	78.56	D62.76	37.13	37.20	1,636.01	21	5.40	+ 98.52	+ 13.91
4. Benton	445	1,687	2,132	2,650	80.45	D79.13	37.21	37.61	572.93	37	5.52	+ 17.17	+ 28.16
5. Bibb	479	538	1,017	1,327	76.64	D52.90	37.44	38.19	807.53	33	5.87	+ 13.44	+ 13.10
6. Blount				(1,620)			38.15	37.55	248.35	51	5.72	+ 32.84	+ 46.85
7. Butler				(1,995)			39.43	38.10	1,213.19	27	5.52	+ 15.67	+ 57.22
8. Chambers	967	1,141	2,108	2,422	87.04	D54.13	38.15	38.55	1,684.15	20	5.73	+ 25.79	— 11.49
9. Cherokee	455	1,539	1,994	2,768	72.04	D77.18	37.43	38.40	542.31	38	5.05	+ 59.04	+ 25.89
10. Choctaw				(1,283)			37.35	37.70	1,779.05	18	5.34		+ 46.47
11. Clarke	222	754	976	1,419	68.78	D77.25	37.50	37.17	1,718.34	19	3.98	+ 15.92	+ 55.05
12. Coffee	402	703	1,105	1,359	81.31	D63.62	37.68	38.27	419.21	44	5.97	+ 61.48	+ 52.42
13. Conecuh	408	425	833	1,218	68.39	D51.02	38.86	37.55	1,233.73	26	5.76	+ 12.55	+ 30.34
14. Coosa	802	1,167	1,969	2,664	73.91	D59.27	37.46	37.30	814.71	32	5.67	+114.37	+ 34.91
15. Covington	288	97	385	941	40.91	W74.81	39.21	38.51	380.57	45	5.40	+ 49.75	+ 83.00
16. Dale	419	942	1,361	1,903	71.52	D69.21	38.09	37.75	444.85	43	5.88	+ 61.58	+ 85.01
17. Dallas	676	831	1,507	1,927	78.20	D55.44	36.57	37.19	6,314.77	1	5.22	— 5.82	+ 4.34
18. DeKalb	130	900	1,030	1,623	63.46	D87.38	38.14	38.04	294.58	48	5.86	+ 38.31	+ 27.46
19. Fayette	440	799	1,239	1,979	62.61	D64.49	37.16	38.24	447.08	42	5.43	+ 41.77	+ 51.88
20. Franklin	711	1,056	1,767	2,238	78.95	D59.76	38.04	38.83	1,460.20	23	5.62	+ 38.39	— 11.22
21. Greene	784	695	1,479	1,981	74.66	W53.01	37.21	39.34	5,241.40	3	5.20	+ 22.68	— 21.73
22. Hancock	14	221	235	560	41.96	D94.04	37.86	37.47	197.72	52	5.31	+ 65.33	+133.38

23. Henry	471	966	1,437	1,812	79.30	D67.28	36.63	36.57	910.57	31	5.69	+ 44.13	+ 54.43
24. Jackson	97	1,790	1,887	2,894	65.20	D94.86	38.20	36.64	517.31	39	5.63	— 15.21	+ 26.01
25. Jefferson	194	697	891	1,555	57.30	D78.23	38.50	37.77	593.75	36	5.98	+ 22.38	+ 35.21
26. Lauderdale	555	1,141	1,696	2,184	77.66	D67.28	37.75	37.83	1,338.90	25	6.58	+ 17.47	— 4.13
27. Lawrence	631	699	1,330	1,738	76.52	D52.56	37.01	38.22	1,619.53	22	5.61	+ 16.79	— 14.01
28. Limestone	281	790	1,071	1,521	70.41	D73.76	38.30	38.40	1,841.86	15	5.57	+ 12.02	— 14.10
29. Lowndes	703	699	1,402	1,840	76.20	W50.14	37.35	37.08	4,020.68	7	5.23	+ 4.34	+ 15.21
30. Macon	1,240	1,040	2,280	2,553	89.31	W54.39	36.57	38.03	2,830.22	9	5.35	+110.21	— 23.58
31. Madison	401	1,476	1,877	2,352	79.60	W78.64	38.22	38.15	2,628.63	10	5.48	— 2.93	— 2.10
32. Marengo	567	789	1,356	1,663	81.54	D58.19	37.08	37.68	5,542.81	2	4.85	+ 32.73	— 4.79
33. Marion	198	700	898	1,669	53.80	D77.95	37.35	37.51	344.12	46	5.93	+ 35.89	+ 42.94
34. Marshall	89	883	972	1,792	54.24	D90.84	37.00	36.15	481.19	40	5.75	+ 18.90	+ 20.72
35. Mobile	1,771	1,838	3,609	7,177	50.29	D50.93	35.48	35.20	1,395.76	24	4.94	+ 47.10	+ 64.80
36. Monroe	469	604	1,073	1,382	77.64	D56.29	37.94	38.31	1,872.56	14	5.65	+ 5.18	+ 22.45
37. Montgomery	1,158	1,100	2,258	2,810	80.36	W51.28	36.28	36.14	4,259.80	5	4.98	+ 13.34	+ 19.23
38. Morgan	222	808	1,030	1,432	71.93	D78.45	38.35	37.39	1,002.74	29	5.54	+ .87	+ 14.39
39. Perry	824	808	1,632	2,012	81.11	W50.49	37.22	38.27	3,037.10	8	5.64	— 4.35	+ 13.63
40. Pickens	669	1,037	1,706	2,181	78.22	D60.79	37.58	37.73	1,950.38	12	5.55	+ 17.37	— 7.79
41. Pike	1,178	1,269	2,447	2,862	85.50	D51.86	37.39	37.44	926.98	30	5.73	+ 51.52	+ 29.28
42. Randolph	680	1,461	2,141	3,177	67.39	D68.24	38.46	38.56	290.91	49	5.62	+203.35	+ 70.80
43. Russell	855	994	1,849	2,069	89.37	D53.76	38.08	37.90	1,813.42	16	5.22	+ 34.61	+ 30.11
44. St. Clair	83	818	901	1,500	60.07	D90.79	38.36	37.40	464.76	41	5.29	+ 22.11	+ 67.90
45. Shelby	468	787	1,255	1,639	76.57	D62.71	37.95	37.71	692.10	34	6.03	+ 59.17	+ 25.40
46. Sumter	532	703	1,235	1,534	80.51	D56.92	36.38	38.10	4,654.88	4	5.15	— 19.00	— 19.68
47. Talladega	896	1,134	2,030	2,921	69.50	D55.86	37.49	37.69	1,026.82	28	5.74	+ 51.60	+ 25.97
48. Tallapoosa	88	55	143	3,137	4.96	W61.54	37.28	38.02	668.77	35	5.70	+160.19	+ 49.02
49. Tuscaloosa	973	680	1,653	2,571	64.29	W58.86	38.14	38.05	1,878.45	13	4.40	+ 6.32	+ 22.70
50. Walker	146	449	595	1,166	51.03	D75.46	38.23	37.82	282.57	50	5.85	+ 65.33	+ 53.61
51. Washington	152	194	346	383	90.58	D56.07	38.83	40.24	324.07	47	5.49		+ 77.32
52. Wilcox	446	813	1,259	1,412	889.17	D64.58	36.94	36.81	4,071.52	6	5.03	— 7.43	+ 23.16
TOTALS	26,231	42,927	69,158	98,960	69.88	D62.07	37.66	37.79	1,497.34	22+	5.48	+ 27.26	+ 23.43

The Whig electors were: Jeremiah Clemens, Henry Washington Hilliard, B. M. Woolsey, J. G. Gilchrist, R. F. Inge, R. O. Pickett, J. G. Pleasants, L. E. Parsons, and William P. Chilton.

The Democrat electors were: William Lowndes Yancey, Leroy Walker, Alexander Meek, James Pugh, John Barr, John Rather, W. O. Winston, J. L. M. Curry, and John Sanford.

	Bell & Everett	Breckenridge & Lane	Douglas & Johnson	Total Vote	Estimated Eligible Voters	Turnout Percentage	Bell & Everett Percentage	Breckenridge & Lane Percentage	Douglas & Johnson Percentage	Percent of Families Owning Slaves	1860 Slavery Rank	1860 Slave Percentage	1860 Slavery Rank
1. Autauga	234	611	394	1,239	1,531	80.93	18.89	49.31	31.80	45.18	16	57.39	11
2. Baldwin	248	129	81	458	701	65.34	54.14	28.17	17.69	46.24	18	49.32	21
3. Barbour	644	1,715	9	2,368	3,124	75.80	27.20	72.42	.38	42.07	19	52.41	17
4. Bibb	582	613	156	1,351	1,601	84.38	43.08	45.37	11.55	32.58	23	32.30	31
5. Blount	51	546	443	1,040	1,894	54.91	4.90	52.50	42.60	7.01	51	6.13	51
6. Butler	1,079	918	111	2,108	2,364	89.17	51.19	43.55	5.26	36.56	20	37.62	28
7. Calhoun	364	2,347	54	2,765	3,429	80.64	13.16	84.89	1.95	18.21	40	20.16	38
8. Chambers	918	1,017	157	2,092	2,360	88.64	43.88	48.62	7.50	65.42	7	51.04	19
9. Cherokee	527	1,706	223	2,456	3,036	80.90	21.46	69.46	9.08	18.84	37	16.35	40
10. Choctaw	472	542	158	1,172	1,465	80.00	40.27	46.25	13.48	50.35	14	51.12	18
11. Clarke	255	952	77	1,284	1,666	77.07	19.86	74.14	6.00	33.73	22	49.41	20
12. Coffee	394	878	2	1,274	1,583	80.48	30.93	68.92	.15	17.38	42	14.73	44
13. Conecuh	338	348	205	891	1,396	63.83	37.93	39.06	23.01	35.63	21	43.16	25
14. Coosa	706	930	844	2,480	3,024	82.01	28.47	37.56	34.03	26.51	34	27.04	36
15. Covington	416	404	12	832	1,132	73.50	50.00	48.56	1.44	13.78	44	12.69	46
16. Dale	277	1,280	5	1,562	2,073	75.35	17.73	81.95	.32	17.77	41	14.83	43
17. Dallas	620	833	339	1,792	1,950	91.90	34.60	46.48	18.92	84.99	1	76.61	2
18. DeKalb	204	849	202	1,255	1,801	69.68	16.25	67.65	16.10	9.81	49	7.92	49
19. Fayette	359	1,299	37	1,695	2,218	76.42	21.18	76.64	2.18	16.14	43	13.25	45
20. Franklin	715	902	460	2,077	2,176	95.45	34.42	43.43	22.15	28.75	30	45.61	23
21. Greene	765	696	157	1,618	1,766	91.62	47.28	43.02	9.70	78.30	2	76.47	3
22. Henry	317	1,109		1,426	2,143	66.54	22.23	77.77		26.53	33	29.72	32
23. Jackson	130	1,760	565	2,455	3,046	80.60	5.30	71.69	23.01	18.25	39	18.62	39
24. Jefferson	245	831	77	1,153	1,727	66.76	21.25	72.07	6.68	18.68	38	22.55	37

25. Lauderdale	444	706	790	1,940	2,288	84.79	22.87	36.40	40.73	32.14	24	38.67	26
26. Lawrence	525	370	576	1,471	1,793	82.00	35.69	25.15	39.16	30.55	27	48.57	22
27. Limestone	368	522	325	1,215	1,518	80.03	30.29	42.96	26.75	59.96	9	52.82	16
28. Lowndes	592	1,007	57	1,656	1,938	85.45	35.75	60.81	3.44	68.54	5	69.78	6
29. Macon	1,210	1,184	46	2,440	2,697	90.47	49.60	48.52	1.88	63.28	8	67.82	7
30. Madison					(2,328)					51.55	13	55.09	13
31. Marengo	512	838	63	1,413	1,637	86.32	36.23	59.31	4.46	67.72	6	78.31	1
32. Marion	197	986	62	1,245	1,937	64.27	15.82	79.21	4.97	12.22	48	11.47	47
33. Marshall	165	441	763	1,369	2,017	67.87	12.05	32.21	55.74	13.35	46	15.87	42
34. Mobile	1,629	1,541	1,823	4,993	7,560	66.04	32.63	30.86	36.51	29.63	29	27.66	35
35. Monroe	447	530	222	1,199	1,480	81.01	37.28	44.20	18.52	54.87	12	55.56	12
36. Montgomery	1,034	1,555	133	2,722	3,091	88.06	37.99	57.12	4.89	56.55	11	66.04	8
37. Morgan	144	549	545	1,238	1,529	80.97	11.63	44.35	44.02	28.37	32	32.70	30
38. Perry	791	982	99	1,872	2,121	88.26	42.25	52.46	5.29	61.07	9	65.67	9
39. Pickens	619	1,211	16	1,846	2,229	82.82	33.53	65.60	.87	58.75	10	54.62	14
40. Pike	1,227	1,581	84	2,892	3,173	91.14	42.43	54.67	2.90	30.59	26	35.95	29
41. Randolph	537	1,734	343	2,614	3,575	73.12	20.54	66.34	13.12	12.58	47	9.49	48
42. Russell	854	993	53	1,900	2,295	82.79	44.95	52.26	2.79	49.76	15	58.81	10
43. St. Clair.....	174	965	240	1,377	1,850	74.43	12.64	69.93	17.43	14.69	44	16.05	41
44. Shelby	570	853	186	1,609	1,807	89.04	35.43	53.01	11.56	28.71	31	28.71	33
45. Sumter	473	682	136	1,291	1,429	90.34	36.64	52.83	10.53	76.97	4	75.27	4
46. Talladega					(3,148)					31.17	25	37.69	27
47. Tallapoosa	1,270	1,451	298	3,019	3,690	81.82	42.07	48.06	9.87	25.08	35	28.00	34
48. Tuscaloosa	1,023	1,219	23	2,265	2,800	80.89	45.17	53.82	1.01	29.86	28	43.73	24
49. Walker	103	446	303	852	1,374	62.01	12.09	52.35	35.56	7.99	50	6.50	50
50. Washington	155	176	24	355	468	75.85	43.66	49.58	6.76	45.20	17	53.42	15
51. Wilcox	355	833	113	1,301	1,551	83.88	27.29	64.03	8.68	76.99	3	72.29	5
52. Winston	40	203	147	390	712	54.78	10.26	52.05	37.69	2.15	52	3.41	52
TOTALS	26,318	46,771	12,238	85,327	107,765	79.18	30.84	54.81	14.34	34.92		45.12	23+

The Bell-Everett electors were: William B. Wood, Joseph Taylor, Wash M. Smith, George C. Freeman, James H. Clanton, J. D. Webb, L. R. Davis, Joseph R. Morris, and B. W. Groce.

The Breckenridge-Lane electors were: David Hubbard, J. T. Morgan, J. S. Dickerson, E. S. Shorter, C. A. Battle, I. W. Garrett, J. S. Kennedy, R. C. Brickle, and R. W. Cobb.

The Douglas-Johnson electors were: John Winston, Nicholas Davis, Alexander White, B. H. Thrasher, M. J. Bulger, C. W. Lee, R. B. Lindsay, J. W. Ramsey, and W. H. Smith.

Book Reviews

A Constitutional History of Georgia (1732-1945). By Albert B. Saye. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1948. xvi, 521 pp. $4.50.

The obsolescence of "horse and buggy" governmental forms in an age which calls for streamlined organization has long been a favorite topic of writers in the field of state government. Much of this antiquated machinery can be traced to archaic provisions of state constitutions formulated to meet the needs of another era. During the last decade there has been continuous agitation in many of the southern states for constitutional revision, particularly in Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and Louisiana. Professor Saye's *Constitutional History of Georgia* is, therefore, particularly timely in analyzing the efforts of one of the states to solve the recurring problem of adapting governmental machinery to a rapidly changing social and economic setting.

In presenting the latest Georgia constitution, the author comprehensively reviews the state's constitutional history, tracing its growth from its founding to contemporary times. In showing the evolution of the governmental forms found in the present Georgia constitution, Saye successfully establishes a correlation between the sequence of constitutions and the social and economic forces from which these diverse documents evolved.

In further developing the main theme of the work the author examines Georgia constitutions from 1777 to the present Constitution of 1945, analyzing the structure, composition, and powers of the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches; the amending process; and the provisions concerning the electorate. This approach makes it possible to trace particular aspects of government and major issues in Georgia politics through successive constitutions. Because of its convenient topical arrangement the book may serve as a valuable source for selected readings in state government as well as an auxiliary text on Georgia history. The concluding chapters, which cover the period from 1921 to the present and contain an analysis of the provisions of the Constitution of 1945, are of particular interest to students of modern political institutions.

The adoption of the Constitution of 1945 gave Georgia the distinction of being the first state in the Union to ratify a constitution proposed by a commission rather than a constitutional convention. This device has been used by several states in formulating constitutional amendments, and a commission drew up a new constitution for New Jersey in 1941, but the document was rejected by the people. The Georgia document, therefore, remains the single instance in which the recommendations of a commission have been given the assent of the electorate.

Unfortunately, the provisions of the new constitution did not eliminate special legislation in the form of constitutional amendments, since in the recent election the voters were asked to pass on seventeen "special" amendments. If this trend continues, Georgia may once again find itself with a constitution like that of 1871 which was amended 301 times before it was replaced by the present constitution.

COLEMAN B. RANSONE, JR.
University of Alabama

The Early Settlement of Georgia. By James Etheridge Callaway. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1948. 138 pp. $2.50.

It is natural that one should compare a work of this kind with existing studies in the same field, the best known of which is E. Merton Coulter's *Georgia, A Short History* (1933). Since Professor Callaway's title implies a specific study of the state's early settlement, one would naturally expect to find a more detailed treatment than is given in Coulter's general history. Unfortunately this is not the case. Beginning with a brief survey of the pre-colonial history of Georgia, Callaway discusses the settlement and subsequent development until the 1840's. In his chapters dealing with the pioneer farmers in Upper Georgia, land methods, cotton belt pioneers and the eventual settlement of the cotton belt, he endeavors to present the many different trends and contrary forces which affected the rate and type of settlement.

The author's tendency toward long and devious sentences makes awkward reading in spots. He also has a predilection to jump from one tense to another, thereby violating the conventional rules for writing and detracting from the presentation at hand. In addition to these weaknesses of structure there are also certain factual discrepancies

such as, for instance, his statement (p. 4) that the Appalachian System is in the northeast section of Georgia and on the following page (p. 5) that it is in the northwestern. The reader is further confused by an occasional incoherence of paragraph structure which derives from the inclusion of apparently extraneous material.

The format of the book is neat and attractive, though the placing of the rather infrequent notes at the end of the book rather than at the bottom of pages throughout the text is inconvenient. The inclusion of some maps would have added to the clarity and purpose of the study.

The significance of these shortcomings is lessened when one recognizes the subject matter of the book is obviously dear to the heart of the author and that the book is more an expression of his interest than the work of a scientific historian seeking to make a vital contribution to the history of Georgia.

GORDON T. CHAPPELL
Huntingdon College

Family Affair. By Mary Fassett Hunt. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. 280 pp. $2.75.

Family Affair is the story of domestic difficulties which normally lead to divorce, though the principals in this tragedy are made to see the error of their ways. The reader is led into the privacies of two families and allowed to witness the distress of an intelligent woman who sees her brilliant husband fall in love with a voluptuous neighbor of subnormal intelligence. A son and a brother share the tragedy, but our attention is concentrated mainly upon the wife's frustration and the husband's dilemma.

These are interesting people—the intellectuals and their opposites. Also, the conflict among them is correctly focused through their emotions; but the reader is seldom moved to sympathy or dislike. One reason for our indifference to the Corwins, whose tragic "affair" is the problem of the book, is that they are seldom allowed to demonstrate, through their behavior, the character traits which are assigned to them. For instance, we are told repeatedly that Lily is a tensile creature—sharp, headstrong, quarrelsome—but it is not until the story has run its course that we see a fulfillment in conduct of the adjectives applied to her.

This failure to give dramatic intensity to the ordeal of the Corwins is unfortunate for another reason: the trouble-making McCrorys are so very much alive in the story. Cele McCrory is a shapely sensualist who cannot help doing what comes naturally—and is allowed to. Her husband, an alcoholic exhibitionist with a flair for salesmanship, is capable of embarrassing sentiment and violence. We know these delinquents quite well, and we accept their problems because the author knits character to conduct with skill and courage.

The reader appears to be shielded from much that is significant in the affairs of Lily and Merth, Tom and Vron. Perhaps the author knows them so well that she feels a sense of shame in prying into their intimacies. It is only a supposition, but the correspondence between fact and fiction which is indicated in the blurb on the jacket prompts us to query: could it be that the lives of these characters do not move us very deeply because we are made to feel the author's reticence toward materials which she was not entirely free to develop?

WILLIAM PERRY FIDLER
University of Alabama

Rebel Raider: Raphael Semmes's Cruise in the C. S. S. Sumter. Edited by Harpur Allen Gosnell, Lt. Com., U.S.N.R. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948. vii, 218 pp. $3.75.

This is a book about the famous cruises of the Confederate States steamers *Sumter* and *Alabama,* taken from the memoirs of their commanding officer, Admiral Raphael Semmes. Semmes, who was known as an accomplished lawyer while in the service of the "old navy," brought to the Confederacy his solid conception of international law—a highly valuable asset for the nascent nation struggling for foreign recognition. From the time the Admiral cast his lot with his adopted state of Alabama he thus had the full support of the Confederate Secretary of the Navy, Stephen R. Mallory, who accepted his idea that the only feasible stratagem the South might pursue afloat was that of commerce destruction. Indeed, Mallory gave the initial assignment under that plan to Semmes.

Furnished with the little British steam packet *Habana,* which he refitted, armed and rechristened the *C. S. S. Sumter,* Semmes readied for sea by mid-1861. He successfully eluded the Federal blockading cruiser *Brooklyn* at Pass à L'Outre at the mouth of the Mississippi on June

30, and set out upon a voyage full of high adventure, diplomacy and thorough destruction. After a few weeks at sea, the *Sumter* had made the name of the Confederate States a household term throughout the Carribean and Spanish Main areas. During the course of this cruise which lasted until April, 1862, Semmes captured or destroyed eighteen Federal merchantmen and did even greater damage to northern trade with South America.

Semmes took command of the war steamer *290,* or *Alabama,* in August, 1862, and continued his career of raiding Federal commerce. When the *Alabama* was sunk by the *Kearsarge* in the famous action off Cherbourg, France, June 19, 1864, she had captured or destroyed a total of sixty-seven Federal vessels.

Mr. Gosnell has excerpted only the parts of Semmes's own *Memoirs of Service Afloat* (first published in 1869) that relate the story of the raiding voyages. He has deleted the long, legal discussion of the pros and cons of secession which preface Semmes's volume and has added many helpful notes, touching on points of international law and technicalities of naval procedure. But this reviewer cannot refrain from wondering just why this book was done. Although Semmes's own book is sometimes hard to find, it is scarcely so inaccessible as to warrant an abridged reprint.

Rebel Raider does possess the saving graces of being highly readable and exciting. Also, it is now just long enough to take up an evening.

FRANK E. VANDIVER
Austin, Texas

News and Notices

The Association will hold its next annual meeting at the University of Alabama, April 16, 1949.

The visiting speaker for this occasion will be Dr. Frank L. Owsley, well-known author and professor of history at Vanderbilt University.

Dean A. B. Moore of the Graduate School, University of Alabama, is Chairman of the Arrangements Committee. He is being assisted in preparations for the meeting by sub-committees composed of members of the history and other departments of the University.

* * *

The Hale County Historical Society met at Magnolia Grove, Greensboro, Friday, November 5, 1948, to hear a program on the subject, "Spanish-American War Veterans of Hale County." Dr. Charles E. Allen offered a "Tribute to Richmond Pearson Hobson," Mr. Peter A. Brannon presented the "Roll Call of Spanish-American War Veterans of Hale County," and Judge Walter B. Jones read a paper entitled "Vignettes of Alabama History." During the afternoon a tour of the Hobson Shrine was conducted for the members of the Society by Miss Margaret Hobson.

Judge Jones's "Vignettes of Alabama History" has been printed in *The Alabama Lawyer* (IX, 350-360, July, 1948).

* * *

Dr. Carey V. Stabler, formerly professor of history at Florence State Teachers College and member of the first Editorial Board of *The Alabama Review,* has resigned to accept the deanship of Shepherd College, Shepherdstown, West Virginia. Dr. Clanton W. Williams, professor of history, University of Alabama, has been elected to fill Dr. Stabler's unexpired term on the Editorial Board.

* * *

Two members of the Editorial Board, Judge Walter B. Jones and Mrs. J. E. Beck, automatically retired from service with the completion of the first volume of *The Alabama Review.* Dr. Rhoda Coleman Ellison, professor of English, Huntingdon College, and Mrs. Mynatt Winston Peace, of Sylacauga have been elected to replace them.

The University of Alabama Library has received as a gift from Mr. Bonnie Hand, editor of the Lafayette *Sun,* fifty volumes of that important East Alabama weekly covering the years 1902-1939, and one volume of the Chambers *News* (1937).

Major Jere Dennis, for many years one of Dadeville's best-known citizens, an attorney, soldier and newspaperman, has donated to the University of Alabama Library his personal papers, including many letters and other manuscripts. Among the items are bound files of the Birmingham *Labor Advocate* (1890-1895), the Pratt Mines *Enterprise* (1891), and the *Lone Star* (1884-1885), the *Democrat* (1885-1886), and the *Advocate-Star* (1885) of Dadeville.

* * *

Miss Lucile Napier, instructor in history at Alabama College, is on leave for a year of travel and study at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, for the summer and fall terms. Mr. Albert N. Fitts, a recent M.A. graduate of the University of Alabama is replacing Miss Napier. Miss Ethel Marshall and Miss Lucille Griffith, instructors, have been raised to the rank of assistant professors of history.

* * *

The Alabama Polytechnic Institute has published a booklet, *Titles of Theses, 1929-1944,* prepared by William D. Baughman with a preface by Dr. Russell S. Poor, Dean of the Graduate School. Included in the list are scores of theses in history and government, the majority of which deal with Alabama subjects.